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THE WOMAN VOTER

ORGAN OF THE WOMAN SUFFRAGE PARTY

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The Press and The Parade

Ida Tarbell Answered

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Abdul Baha and Woman Suffrage

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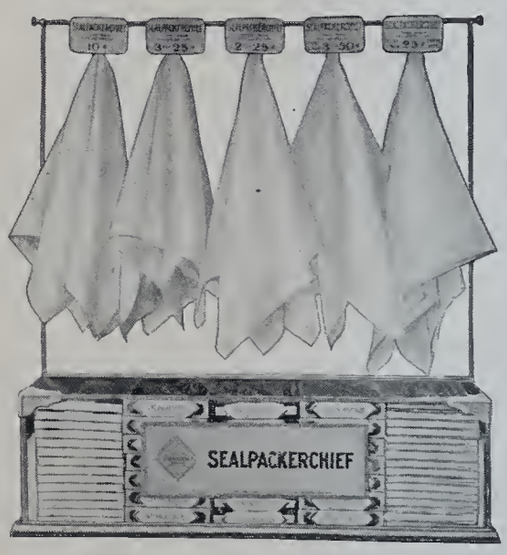

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The Woman Voter

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF AND PUBLISHED BY

THE WOMAN SUFFRAGE PARTY

A Union for political work of existing Equal Suffrage organizations in the City of New York

FLORENCE WOOLSTON, Editor

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THE WOMAN SUFFRAGE PARTY

HEADQUARTERS, 30 EAST 34TH ST., NEW YORK CITY
Telephone 6390 Madison Square

The Woman Suffrage Party is an organization which seeks to unite, and utilize through political channels, the entire equal suffrage force in the City of New York. Its aim is to secure the submission of a woman suffrage amendment to the State Constitution and its adoption at the polls. To this end it is proposed:

1. To diffuse among voters and non-voters a wider knowledge and deeper understanding of the underlying justice and expedience of woman's demand for the ballot.

2. To enlist the active co-operation of men and women by means of a systematic, vigorous, educational campaign.

3. To conduct a non-partisan campaign with the object of securing the pledges of all candidates for the Legislature to vote in favor of the submission of the woman suffrage amendment; to hold Assembly District, County and City Conventions when deemed expedient; to nominate condidates for the Legislature and secure a place on the official ballot by petition, should the continued adverse attitude of the Legislature render such action necessary.

The women of New York will not be able to vote until a bill authorizing an amendment to the State Constitution has passed two successive Legislatures, and the amendment has been ratified by a majority vote at the polls.

To meet this difficult situation, the Woman Suffrage Party proposes to conduct a constructive, systematic, thorough campaign in the City of New York which will reach every man and woman in it. It will endeavor to enroll as members all men and women in each Assembly District who believe that women should vote in order that the rapidly growing sentiment in favor of equal suffrage may be united into a definite, positive force.

The Woman Suffrage Party is organized by Districts in imitation of the plan followed by political parties, that a practical demonstration may be given to our legislators and political parties that there is a decided public opinion in their constituencies which demands suffrage for women.

No obligation of money or work is laid upon enrolled members of the Woman Suffrage Party, but all such will be notified of meetings to be held in their Assembly Districts, and of the annual District Conventions at which Assembly District Leaders, Borough and City officers will be elected.

While work is not a necessary qualification for membership in the Woman Suffrage Party, yet, all believers in the cause are urged to activity. A woman suffrage club will be formed in each Assembly District and its members will pay regular dues.

New York must be converted; its intelligence must be convinced of the reasonableness of our demand; its conscience must be touched by the needs of women; and it must be made to feel that the enfranchisement of women is only another battle in the world's long struggle for human freedom.

The essential need at this time is numbers. We invite every suffragist in the City of New York to devote his and her zeal, enthusiasm and energy in helping to build up the Woman Suffrage Party in order that our great cause may triumph.

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The Woman Voter

ORGAN OF THE WOMAN SUFFRAGE PARTY OF NEW YORK

HEADQUARTERS, 30 EAST 34TH STREET TELEPHONES, 6390-6391 MADISON SQ.

JUNE, 1912

THE PRESS AND THE PARADE

FAILURE IS IMPOSSIBLE!

"WOMEN are going to vote. They are going to have their say in the laws that rule them and their children. They are going to add morality, benevolence and kindness to men's governing selfishness, AND NOTHING WILL STOP IT."—The New York *Evening Journal*, May 4.

UNITY.

"IT was a parade of contrasts — contrasts among women. There were women of every occupation and profession, and women of all ages, from those so advanced in years that they had to ride in carriages down to suffragettes so small that they were pushed along in perambulators. There were women whose faces bore traces of a life of hard work and many worries. There were young girls, lovely of face and fashionably gowned. There were motherly-looking women, and others with the confident bearing obtained from contact with the business world.

There were women who smiled in a preoccupied way as though they had just put the roast into the oven, whipped off their aprons and hurried out to be in the parade. They were plainly worried at leaving their household cares for so long, yet they were determined to show their loyalty to the cause. There were women who marched those weary miles who had large bank accounts. There were slender girls, tired after long hours of factory work. There were nurses, teachers, cooks, writers, social workers, librarians, school girls, laundry workers. There were women who work with their heads and women who work with their hands and women who never work at all. And they all marched for suffrage."—The New York *Times*, May 5.

SENATORIAL COMMENTS.

THE parade itself and its effect on the cause of women's suffrage brought forth the following Senatorial comments:

Senator Stilwell.

Senator Stilwell: "I saw the parade, and think it was a fine one. It cannot fail to have a good effect for the cause of women's suffrage. No one could view that body of serious-minded women without feeling that the question which they were putting before the public cannot be evaded any longer.

"The question of their right to vote must and will come before the people just as soon as it legally can, and I believe that when it does there is no doubt at all that New York State will take its place in the growing ranks of those States where women have the same right to vote that men have.

"Favorable action by two successive Legislatures, which is the necessary preliminary to a referendum vote by the people on a constitutional amendment, cannot be long delayed in the face of such a tremendous demonstration. I introduced the bill in the Senate before and fought for it, and I am now more firmly decided than ever that such a bill should be passed."

Senator Bayne.

Senator Howard R. Bayne: "I favored and voted for the bill when it was up before, and will take the same action whenever the opportunity arises. I saw the parade, and thought it was the most attractive, as well as the most impressive parade I have ever seen. I believe it has advanced the cause of suffrage one hundred per cent.

"I think everybody must feel that it is not only a serious but a pressing question, and that it is

bound to come. Of course, under the most favorable action possible it cannot come in less than three years, but in the face of such a swiftly growing strength as was evidenced by that demonstration on Saturday it is plain that it is a question which is very definitely before New York State now."

SENATOR POLLOCK.

Senator Henry W. Pollock: "I did not see the parade, but I have heard to-day that it was a much larger and finer demonstration than the one of the year before. I voted for the bill last year, and it seems to me I would certainly vote the same way again. It is not that I am personally keen for women's suffrage, but because I believe that the only proper thing to do is to let the question go before the people for a referendum vote."

SENATOR HARTE.

Senator Dennis J. Harte: "I was not able to see the parade, but I've been told about it since, and have read the accounts of it. I favored the bill last year which was introduced for the purpose of having the question submitted to a referendum vote of the people.

"From what I have heard and read the parade was certainly a good thing for their cause, and I have no doubt the surprising growth of the movement in one year, demonstrated by the size of the parade as compared to the previous one, will make even their opponents see that it is a question which must be submitted to the people now."

SENATOR GRIFFIN.

Senator A. G. Griffin: "I didn't see the parade, but I saw the people who were there to see the parade. I had an engagement uptown which prevented me from waiting for the parade, but when I passed along Fifth Avenue fully an hour before the time the parade was due to start I saw the crowds of people eager to see it, and no one could help being impressed by that.

"It was very evident, too, that it was a sympathetic crowd, and not a crowd which was there to laugh at the paraders. It certainly demonstrated that there is a large and growing public interest in the question. I am in favor of the referendum on every question of that kind, because I believe that is the only good democratic principle to apply. I don't mean democratic in a party sense, but refer to the broad democratic principles which support our government.

"When any agitation reaches the proportions of that parade on Saturday the question which underlies it should go to the people, and I think it will."

SENATOR BLACK.

Senator Loring M. Black: "In case of my reelection I would be against a bill favoring woman suffrage. I think that most of the spectators who turned out yesterday to see the parade were merely curious. The crowd signified nothing. Many of the marchers were children and women from outside the State. There were few men in line.

"I do not think that yesterday's demonstration means that there is any general interest in the question. While I do not find much interest in the movement among the politicians, I would not be surprised if a bill in favor of woman suffrage should pass next Fall, simply because most voters are beginning to think that it would do no harm to let the women have the vote, and it might do good. A good many people think that things are so bad now that they can't get much worse any way."

SENATOR HARDEN.

Senator Thomas C. Harden: "I do not care to enter into a long discussion. My views are very well known. When the bill came up in the Senate I voted against it. The hand that rocks the cradle rules the world, and women are better off in the home circle than in politics. If it could be shown conclusively to me that woman would be benefited by the vote I'd lend the support of a thousand votes if I had them."—The New York *Tribune,* May 6.

"A SIDEWALK man sized up the situation: 'Well, I guess the women will get the vote, but I wouldn't want to be the assemblyman to come up against this crowd.'"—The New York *World,* May 6.

FROM THE SIDE-LINES.

"IT was a quiet crowd that watched, although a far larger crowd than the one last year. There must have been 4,000 spectators at the Public Library. One woman voiced a protest at the comparative silence of the crowds. She was standing on the pavement in front of one of the Fifth Avenue clubs, and observed with resentment that the men quietly watching from the windows gave no signs of encouragement.

"'The idea!' she remarked sharply. 'Why don't they lean out and cheer? If they were out here marching and we were in there watching they would expect us to cheer our heads off.'

"'Madame,' said a venerable man standing next to her, as he doffed his high hat; 'Madame, they cannot be expected to cheer. They are very, very busy thinking. Your parade is making the men think.'"—The New York *Times,* May 5.

THE MEN'S LEAGUE

Courtesy of HARPER'S WEEKLY. Photo by UNDERWOOD.

THE MEN'S LEAGUE.

OF all the men that were asked why they marched not one said "because my wife asked me to."

James Lees Laidlaw, chairman of the Men's League, said: "I am marching to give political support to the women and moral support to the men."

Rabbi Stephen Wise, who was greeted with great applause all along the line, said:

"I should be ashamed, believing as I do in equal suffrage, not to march."

Next in line to Rabbi Wise walked Dr. Algernon Crapsey, who came all the way from Rochester for the parade. He believes that "government is a matter fo housekeeping, therefore woman has got to enter into government, and she can only get control by means of the vote."

Wytter Binner, the poet, who wrote a stirring marching song for the women, put his reason in an epigram, "I march because I had two parents."

"One man, W. C. Amos, president of the Republican Club of the 19th Assembly District, based his reason on the belief that his experience in the West—in Colorado, particularly—taught him that woman suffrage works out practically. He also believes that 'the business of government is as respectable to uplift as the business of the grocery and saloon, in which women are employed. And it is casting undeserved asperation on the government to think it worse than the ordinary business in which women are occupied all day.'

"'Because I believe in democracy,' was the reason given by Robert Bruère for his presence in the parade. 'And I think property owners and women who work need the franchise.'

"Walter Weyl, author of 'The New Democracy,' also marched. He believes that 'the granting of the suffrage to women is a step in our progress toward democracy.'

"'I marched because I'm not afraid to stand up and be counted,' said George Middleton.

"'And I, because there's no reason why I shouldn't,' said Dr. W. C. McCurdy, who walked next him.

"'The great principle for which I march,' said Dr. Charles G. Pease, 'is that man has no right to say to woman, 'Thou shalt not' from the standpoint of equal right.

"Nelson Smith, of the New York bar, marched because he thinks women need the vote for self-defence. 'You can't repeal a bad law without votes,' he said.

"'Because I want to be seen and represented in line for principles I have believed in for twenty-five years,' was the reason given by Dr. Herbert D. Burnham."—The New York *Tribune*, May 5.

DESPITE OUR DIFFICULTIES.

"NEVER before had such a throng turned out to see a parade as that which lined both sides of the avenue yesterday. A conservative estimate put the figures at more than half a million. To handle that immense outpouring only a handful of police was detailed to the line of march, so in consequence the worst confusion that ever has been seen in New York prevailed all along the route. . . . Despite the handicaps imposed by the lack of official foresight the parade was remarkable for its organization. The women were in their appointed places long before the appointed time, dropped into line exactly as planned by the marshals and started on their jaunt promptly at five o'clock. No frivolity was apparent at any time. . . . All seemed imbibed with the seriousness of their cause and did nothing that could reflect discredit upon themselves or the movement they represented."—New York *Press,* May 5.

"Inspector McClusky, tightening his belt, at 23rd Street, for another onslaught on the crowds so anxious to cheer and see that they wouldn't make room for the marchers, expressed the police idea:

"'It's about time to give them the vote," he said. 'I wish to God they would. I'd be with 'em.'"—New York *Tribune,* May 5.

OUR DIVISIONS.

"MARCHING formation was eminently well preserved, too, by the district clubs of the Woman Suffrage Party. Down on lower Fifth Avenue their gorgeous paraphernalia and their keen appreciation of the tune of "hay foot —straw foot" did not have half a chance, the crowd so hemmed the marchers in. But up above 23rd Street, where the roadway was not so encroached upon, they swung out across the avenue in stately lines instinct with the marching rhythm, their banners gorgeous flames of color and their broad, yellow sashes a mark from afar. The 25th, with Mrs. Marie Jenney Howe at its head, was especially singled out for the cheers of the crowd, and Mrs. Nathan's district was also impressive.

"It wasn't all cheers. It was some jeers, mostly saved for the Men's League. But this year the men were about a thousand strong, and so certain of themselves that jeers or cheers seemed all one to them. 'The Fire Eaters' the crowd began to dub them around the Public Library, where suffrage was being waved from sympathetic pennants."—The New York *Post.*

"THE New York suffragists were divided into their political districts just like men political paraders and they had been drilling somewhere. They wore the white gowns, the low-heeled shoes, the straw hats and had the yellow sashes swung over their shoulders.

"The Twenty-fifth Assembly District might have been drilling for months the way they swung along, while the Twelfth added color and variety by playing up China. 'Women vote in China, but they are classed with criminals and paupers in New York,' said one of their banners. Just to make it more realistic the marchers of the Twelfth carried Japanese lanterns and they had with them one or two women from the Orient. 'We want the mothers to vote,' said another district.

"The Bronx came along with a good delegation divided into Assembly Districts, and after it were Kings, Queens and Richmond."—The New York *Sun,* May 5.

"There were only two policemen at the corner of 41st Street, and they didn't seem to recognize Mrs. Belmont in the woman simply clad in white. But anger gleamed in her eyes. 'The police protection is very inadequate,' she declared aloud.

"'Never moind, lady,' answered the officer, 'nixt year ye'll all be policemin.'"

THE CONCLUSION OF THE MATTER.

"SEVENTEEN thousand women of all ages marched up Fifth Avenue from the Washington Arch last evening, passing at first through silent, unmoved, curious, sometimes gibing ranks of a million onlookers. They ended the parade for equal suffrage in 57th Street amid continuous applause throughout the miles of their ranks, won not by their cause but by themselves for their earnestness, their discipline, their presentation of a splendid womanhood which made all who watched them proud to know them as American mothers, sisters, wives or sweethearts. They have not yet won the ballot, but they won New York."—The New York *Herald,* May 5.

THE ONLY ONE HE KNEW.

THE young man entered the State suffrage headquarters with a modest air and a bashful smile. His paper had sent him, he said, to get a "human interest" story of suffrage happenings.

"Are you, yourself, a suffragist?" asked the friendly and beaming secretary.

The young man blushed in the most embarrassed manner.

"Oh, I don't really know very much about it," he confessed, "I don't even know if any State has it yet except Iowa!" M. A. DE F.

IDA TARBELL ANSWERED

WHEN the *American Magazine* announced that Ida Tarbell would contribute a series of articles on the woman question, those who appreciated her ability as a writer and knew of her active membership in the New York State Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, felt that at last the "antis" had a brilliant champion. Debate with an average anti-suffragist is conceded to be as easy as stealing from a baby, but suffragists expected the unanswerable objection from a woman of Miss Tarbell's attainments. It was, therefore, a surprise to find nothing new in the series.

The anti-habit of mind cannot be disguised even by an academic vocabulary and a journalist's technique. Under new and more "dressy" titles were recognized four of the standard anti-suffrage arguments: "Woman is different from man," "It would unsex woman," "Woman's place is in the home," and "Indirect influence is enough."

On the fifteenth of April, in the Metropolitan Temple, four well-known suffragists answered Miss Tarbell's articles. The meeting was organized and conducted by Mrs. Marie Jenny Howe, leader of the 25th Assembly District. We print herewith reports of the four speeches:

"THE UNEASY WOMAN."

BY

BEATRICE FORBES-ROBERTSON HALE.

THE fallacies contained in Miss Ida Tarbell's very superficial paper, "The Uneasy Woman," spring from a total misconception of the meaning of the Feminist Movement, together with a sentimental misunderstanding of the functions of a human woman, as apart from a female.

Miss Tarbell sees, as do most of us, the faults of the age in which she lives, and seeks to remedy them by reverting to the faults of the previous age, a habit common to loose observers, but unworthy a trained mind. It may be true that in their fine and human attempt to escape from the arbitrary restrictions of the past, women have swung the pendulum too far in certain instances; but is that a reason for swinging it back again to the opposite extreme?

The Woman's Movement seeks to restore to woman that status as the partner and co-worker of man which she enjoyed in all primitive and agricultural communities, plus a wider, freer horizon to correspond to our higher grade of civilization. In the attempt to attain this new status many women have had to bestir themselves; under the disabilities of the old many more women have been restless and unhappy. And this divine restlessness and stir, the inevitable precursor of all New Births, poor Miss Tarbell labels as the "uneasiness" of the "self discussing" woman who has forgotten the "business" of her sex!

The article begins with the amazing assertion that "the most conspicuous occupation of the American woman of to-day, dressing herself aside, is self-discussion." That is, the one-sixteenth of women in this country who can afford to keep a servant—and therefore have time for Dressing and Discussion—are the only "Americans." (What are the others, one wonders—Siamese?) She — the American remnant — is "always running about on the face of things with no other purpose than to put in her time." This narrows "American women" down, apparently, to the small percentage of the one-sixteenth who can afford several servants, and who live in big cities. Or perhaps when Miss Tarbell writes of American women she means only those in the upper Fifth Avenue and Apartment House section of New York City? It looks like it.

American "uneasy" women are quoted as accusing man of being "a calculating tyrant," and the platform of the pioneer suffragists of over sixty years ago is referred to in proof of this assertion. Perhaps the Suffragists of that day did have cause to regard man in this light, but to state that they do so now is to show a complete ignorance of the A B C of the Twentieth Century Woman's Movement.

"Society," we are told, "resents a restless woman." "Society" has always "resented" every reform, including Christianity. "Society" has throughout the ages been intrenched in conservatism, prejudice, and privilege; it is only the exceptional mind that has ever seen further than the circle and period in which it lived; a mind which, alas, Miss Tarbell, so endowed in other respects, does not seem to possess!

"Man," we learn, in the effort to "reduce to order nature and his fellows" (a human rather than a merely male function, one would have thought), has always found woman ill content with the place he assigns to her as "the maker of the secure spot where his head is not in danger, his heart is not harrassed." If that be so, apparently she must have had reason for her discontent. Perhaps she desired to have a hand in determining what kind of "spot" it was best for

the race—not only "man"—she should make. A normal ambition, one imagines! Again, her "uneasiness" under his arbitrary selection of "the spot" has created the "varying changes in the woman's world which distinguish the ages." That is, the change from polygamy to monogamy, from a slave wife to a free wife, from the married woman of two generations back who owned neither her property nor her child, to the woman of to-day who owns (in some States) both—from the illiterate to the college-bred woman. Glorious "uneasiness," to give birth to such changes! "Society has not liked it" we are told again. Poor, benighted Society; much of it did not "like" the freeing of the Southern slaves.

Later in the article comes the statement that the typical uneasy woman considers she can never be man's equal until she studies "his" books, practices "his" trades and professions, and works with him in government. When did author ever write for one sex alone? Books are written for *people*, not for males. Knowledge has no sex, it belongs to Humanity. As for "his" trades; what woman desires to be a soldier, sailor, engine driver, or blacksmith? But a clerk, salesman, lawyer, doctor, artist, writer (Miss Tarbell is both writer and editor), why are these "his" occupations? Some of them, noticeably the knowledge of healing the sick—medicine—have been pre-eminently "hers" from the earliest times. As for government, in its monarchical form women throughout history have frequently shared it with men. In a modern democracy they should do so more than ever, if they are to carry *their fair share* of the burdens of life; because government has long ceased to be preoccupied with matters pertaining to war, and has become primarily a matter of socialized housekeeping.

One has really no patience with the reference to woman's "difference" from man ("different, subtly, wonderfully, bafflingly different," to quote); which apparently is great enough to bar her from all the most interesting human, as apart from sex, activities. Of all ancient bug-bears, this seems the most foolish. How do we *know* how "different" or "alike" she is, till we give her the freedom and power to express herself according to her strength, brain, and spirit?

The last paragraphs of this article, entitled respectively "The Business of Being a Woman," "Taking an Unfair Advantage of Man" and "Man and Marriage a Trap," seem to me the most frivolous and unworthy.

The assumption is that the modern suffragist belittles the supreme function of maternity, that in "defying" and "denouncing" the male she is in reality coquetting with him, that society "laughs and applauds" her attempt to fix the badge of tyranny upon him, that in marriage she sees a "trap," in the married woman a "slave" and that suffrage girls to-day pray on their knees to be delivered from the "frightful isolation" of marriage. .To put it in as mild language as I can compass, these assumptions and statements are unworthy the silliest page of a comic supplement.

We are asked in this unhappy little paper to make our sex a "business." Just that has been the supreme cause of the degradation of women throughout the ages. Humanity is our "business," womanhood our privilege and our joy.

Suffragists are such, essentially, not because they wish to "make men of themselves," but because, believing in men, women, and above all, children, they desire to help their brothers toward the attainment of a more perfect humanity; knowing that in union lies strength, and that men and women, together in communal as in individual affairs, can attain more than each can ever hope to accomplish separately.

"MAKING A MAN OF HERSELF."

BY

CHARLOTTE PERKINS GILMAN.

THESE four of Miss Tarbell's papers which have been running in the *American Magazine* for January, February, March, April and are still running, are considered worth the pains we have taken in preparing to answer them this evening because of the ability and dignity and power of the woman who writes them and not because of the ability, dignity or power of the papers themselves. Their value, their weight, the reason it is important to discuss them, is that they are published in *The American Magazine* and that they are from the pen of one of the best known women writers of America. What they present is in no way new, it is a repetition of the standard reactionary views about women. But the seriousness and earnestness with which they are put forth make it worth while to make careful and special discussion. I have been writing articles of comment upon them for my own magazine and took great pleasure in accepting the invitation to speak to-night.

I have been given the second of these articles, under the title *Making a Man of Herself*.

The position taken is the same one which has been held for all these years by those who have always feared that if women did anything whatever outside of child-rearing and housework they were unsexing themselves. That is an ancient and limited theory, which held that a woman's entire nature was limited by her femininity, that she had feminine qualities and no others, that if she did anything outside the home she thereby did violence to her feminine nature.

In this article Miss Tarbell speaks of the years of collegiate education which have been given our women. She admits that women possess a larger

stock of untaught knowledge than men and states that no matter how much college education is put into a woman's mind, it still remains a woman's mind. Now, if that is so, why does Miss Tarbell go any further? If she admits that all that education, which is called masculine education, leaves it still a woman's mind, why does she fear that the woman in assimilating it is making a man of herself?

She admits that women have done much work, good work, useful work. She denies that women have done great work. We all of us know many women we consider great. But that is not the major point. Her point is that in achieving anything whatever in the business or professional world the woman is that much less a woman. In order to do it, she says, she is obliged to crush down her woman's nature, to become hard and unnatural, it is at the cost of sacrifice and injury to her woman's nature.

I might mention one mistake which is really discreditable to so able a woman. She speaks repeatedly of the progress of women in this country as the militant movement. The militant movement is a part of the suffrage movement in England and that's all. The term is misused.

This article confines itself exclusively to that baseless proposition that for a woman to do any part of the world's work except the domestic part is to make a man of herself. Now, in answering this I am answering far more than Miss Tarbell. I am answering the whole world behind us and the majority of the world around us to-day. The view is incorrect, let me modestly say. Men are men and women are women and will always remain so. Both men and women belong to the human species. Both men and women are human beings. Both men and women have an equal right and equal duty in the business of the world. It is not male business; it is not female business; it is the business of humanity upon which women are entering, and to enter it does not make men of them. The difference which we are always insisting upon is by no means so large a thing as we think. Men and women are different to a certain degree, but they are similar by ninety per cent. more than they are different. Consider any other creature on earth and you will understand what I mean. Take two horses; one is female and one is male, but they are both horses. We never should think of considering one wholly as a horse and the other as a female. That is the mistake of all the ages with regard to women, and Miss Tarbell merely shares in that mistake. If men and women together are imprisoned in some place like the black hole of Calcutta, if they struggle to get out, the men do not struggle to get out because they are males, the women do not struggle to get out because they are females; they both struggle to get out because they both have lungs. The possession of lungs is not a male characteristic nor a female characteristic. If you have men who are struggling, poor, without money; if you have women struggling, poor, without money—the men don't want it because they are males; the women don't want it because they are females; they both want it because they are hungry. Women need purses as much as men, but they don't have them as much.

The difference—that complete and unremovable difference—between men and women, need never concern any of us. The woman's sphere is hers; nothing can take it from her; no person need concern themselves in the least for fear the women are going to give up their major business as women, which is motherhood. The work of the world is not male work or female work, but human work.

The reason that through all these dark ages behind us women have so leaned upon men, have so clung to men (often with such a strangle hold), have so pursued them, is not because they were men, but because they were human beings. They were the ones who made the world and carried it; and to have anything at all out of this world the woman must first secure one man.

This particular phase of the subject is the crux of the whole women's movement, that great sociological progress which is stirring the whole world. It consists not in the least in any loss of interdependent relation between the two as men and women, but of the reassumption on the part of women of their share in human life—a share which they once held, back of history, in a period where men and women were friends and comrades. From that time to this she has held a subsidiary and exclusively feminine position. The world has been wholly in the hands of men and they have believed that men alone had the ability, felt the necessity, for developing civilization, the business, education and religion of the world. It is there that this great stir and pressure comes to-day; it is there women are moving forward into their place in the world—not into man's place. Make it clear in your minds: the sphere of woman consists in those capacities, instincts, functions, which pertain to motherhood. Those are the feminine functions in life; they constitute the sphere of woman. The sphere of man consists in those capacities, instincts, functions, which pertain to fatherhood: That is man's sphere; absolutely that and that only. Now the woman's is larger than the man's because motherhood is a larger thing than fatherhood. But outside motherhood and fatherhood, the great work is not male and female; it is human. I don't think I can say it any stronger; I don't think I need say it again. That is the answer to this childish repetition of an old mistake. Women are not trying to make men of themselves. They are trying to make human beings of themselves—and they are succeeding.

"THE BUSINESS OF BEING A WOMAN."

BY

ANNA HOWARD SHAW.

I WOULD rather have the love of the men and women who are working for the freedom of the whole human race than to have everything else in the world. In fact, when one has the love of her peers she has everything the world has to give. If I believed—and I am glad I do believe—largely what Mrs. Howe has said in regard to the love of my comrades and friends, I should feel repaid for all the work I have ever done and feel grateful to have been considered by Him fit to do His work.

I do not like to answer, or attempt to answer Miss Tarbell. I would rather say something for myself—out of my own and my comrades' attitude toward the question of women and women's service. But I am glad to answer the article entitled *The Business of Being a Woman.*

Being a woman is a business. Being human is to be natural. Being a woman is a business entirely apart from the subject upon which Miss Tarbell has written. She has not written in this article about the business of being a woman; she has written about being almost everything that is human except being a woman. And when she does touch upon the real business of being a woman, she touches upon it as if she had written fifty years ago.

She speaks first of the very bad training and the very insufficient training and instruction of the young girl by her mother for the duties and responsibility of motherhood. She might have written these statements at the time I was a girl and they would have been correct. During the last thirty years there has been more effort made, more books written, more books studied, more thought given to the correct education of girls in regard to motherhood and their responsibility as mothers, than in a hundred or five hundred years or all previous time put together. There are whole organizations of women who have devoted years to instructing girls for motherhood.

Miss Tarbell speaks of the revolt against marriage. Much of the revolt against marriage today is due to the better instruction of girls in regard to the obligation and the responsibility of marriage. They have learned that marriage is not a business by which a woman shall be fed and clothed and sheltered; they have learned that marriage is a sacred institution; and instead of being what Miss Tarbell says she is—unconscious of the supreme importance of her mate—she is becoming more and more conscious of the supreme importance of her mate as filling an important place in her life and the life of the family; something besides a mere provider of material things upon which the family depends.

I suppose there are such silly girls as are written about here—girls who think that they are marrying simply to have a good time, without any thought whatever of care or responsibility; who marry a man because they may keep him upon his knees all the time. If they had good sense they would know the only way to keep him there would be not to marry him.

The home, we are told by Miss Tarbell, is an economic partnership. Now, if there is anything that the suffragists have tried to drill into the heads of the audiences who have attended suffrage lectures it is that the real position of the woman in a home is that of an economic partner. But an economic partner is not one who is subject entirely to the other partner and must pledge beforehand to be absolutely obedient to his will and obey his wishes. A partner is one who is taken into the confidence of the business itself and understands its entire relation; has some knowledge of the financial standing of the business; some knowledge of her own responsibility and part in the business. Miss Tarbell says that the woman who feels she is supported will consent to ask for money. There are a lot of married women in this world who would never see a cent of money if they did not ask for it. And there are a great many who ask for it in vain. And her great crime, according to Miss Tarbell, is that most women do not live within their income. Most women do not have an income. If they had—had a stated income—they would know how to regulate their living so as to live within it. But the difficulty with most women is that they don't know what their income is. It is variable; and when they think they are living within it, sometimes they do not. There is no stated, specific sum upon which the average household is managed or run. If that condition could prevail, if it did prevail and women knew each month the exact sum of money they would be able to spend, there are hundreds of women to-day who would be able to live within that income and live successfully. But the woman who does know what the income is, the woman to whom the man hands the pay envelope every Saturday night, that woman knows what she has to live upon. She is usually the wife of a day laborer. And the man who brings home ten or twelve dollars a week has done a splendid, manly task. But the woman who in these days keeps a roof over the heads and furnishes food and raiment for that family with ten or twelve dollars, does an infinitely greater task. It would be very much easier to earn the ten dollars than to spend it so judiciously that it would support ten persons.

She says further in regard to this difficulty, that we are not only responsible for all the evils

that come through the ignorance of our daughters, but that we are responsible for the trusts! I did think that was one thing for which men were responsible. But we are responsible for the trusts and she proves it. "I can remember," she says, "the day when the Beef Trust invaded a certain Middle Western town. The war on the old-time butchers of the village was open. 'Buy of us,' was the order, 'or we will fill the storage house so full that the legs of the steers will hang out of the windows and we will give away the meat.' The women of the town had a prosperous club which might have resisted the tyranny which the members all deplored, but the club was busy that Winter with a study of the Greek drama. They deplored the tyranny, but they bought the cut-rate meat—the old butchers fought to a finish and the housekeepers are now paying higher prices for poorer meat and railing at the impotency of man in breaking up the Beef Trust." How I wish Miss Tarbell had told us where that town is, that we might locate it and forever make it a black spot on the face of the earth—to think that women established the foundation for the Beef Trust. I wonder where the railways, and the packers, and the alien landlords and the government-protected cattle rangers come in. But Miss Tarbell certainly does give women business. When she speaks of woman as the consumer, she says, "None of these things (speaking of the scandal of American woolen goods, food adulteration, false weights and measures) could have come about in this country if woman had taken her business as a consumer with anything like the seriousness with which man takes his as a producer?" Now, if we women had only been as serious in consuming as man has been in producing, there would have been no such thing as a mixed quality in woolen goods, no food adulteration, no false weights and measures. It is true that women have not adulterated the food, they have not furnished the false weights and measures; but if women had done their duties as consumers, men who had been the producers, would not have produced these false conditions with the same seriousness. As a matter of fact, when women were the producers of these things we had woolens a yard wide; when women did produce the food it was not adulterated; when women had the power to control conditions themselves they gave full measure and good weight. But just as soon as men went into the serious business of producing, then all these false things entered in, not because men were false producers, but because women were not careful consumers. In the old days there used to be priests going about as apologists. They apologized not for their religion, but they apologized for the people who did not accept their religion. Now, Miss Tarbell is not condemning men who have gone into the business of giving us false everything we have, but she is condemning women who have consumed these things. I wonder if she considers the man consumer irresponsible? Miss Tarbell says of woman as a consumer: "If she does her work intelligently she knows the why of every fluctuation of price in standards." Now, just think of woman—a woman with a family of six children, getting up in the morning with all her household responsibilities, tackling the market and understanding the why of the fluctuation in eggs and butter and flour and sugar and shoes and stockings and everything else before breakfast! The wisest man on Wall Street does not know the why of the fluctuation in steel and he does nothing else but steel. How under heaven is the mother of six going to understand the why of the fluctuation in everything that enters into the household every morning? Can she understand before she buys a yard of cotton just why the war in China and the famine in India is affecting the cotton industry and the food supply so that we are likely to have reduction of the wages in the United States?

She says it is up to the women. Well, most things have been up to us. But she is troubled because we are up to it now.

And now I have gotten to the point of "making a democrat of herself and the business of being a woman." Where would poor Mr. Roosevelt be if we were all democrats? Miss Tarbell says: "The reason of the sudden and revolutionary change in the education of American women (which began with the nineteenth century and continued through it) was the realization that if we were to make real democrats, we must begin with the child, and if we begin with the child we must begin with the mother. Everybody saw that unless the child learned by example and precept the great principles of liberty, equality, and fraternity, he was going to remain what by nature we all are, imperious, demanding and self-seeking. It is not too much to say that the success of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution depended, in the minds of certain early democrats, upon the woman. The doctrines of these great instruments would be worked out according to the way she played her part. Her serious responsibility came in the fact that her work was one nobody could take off her hands. This responsibility required education and liberty." Now, doesn't that sound just like a suffragist? We talk about being on the fence: I don't know in which paragraph she is a suffragist and in which paragraph she is not. I have heard of rail-birds, but I have never seen a better illustration of it than this. The education which Miss Tarbell wants women to have is the education which they had antedating the Revolution. We

declare if she is to be the mother of the future democrat, she must herself understand the principles of democracy. If you are going to teach poetry you must have the spirit of the poet; if you are going to teach mathematics you must be a mathematician; if you are going to teach citizenship you must be a citizen. She claims we have blundered. Of course, we have blundered. How would men have lived with us if we had not blundered? How will we ever get a perfect knowledge until we study the rudiments and make some mistakes? We don't know just how the end is to be attained, but we do know that if it is to be attained at all it must be by means and it must be by the possession of the tools by which the end can be secured.

She says: "Learning business careers, political and industrial activities — none of these things is more than incidental in the national task of woman. Her great task is preparing the citizen." That is exactly what we are trying to get into the heads of all who oppose us. To educate a citizen you must yourself be educated; to understand civic conditions you must yourself have some civic experience. Miss Tarbell says we have all these educational powers within our reach. It calls for freedom of movement and expression; it calls for ability to organize, to discuss problems, to work for whatever changes are essential. We are developing, seeking education, and she is finding fault with our development. It is our business to know and to do these things and then she finds fault with us because we are attempting to do them and to know and understand them. She says: "It may be it calls for the vote. I do not myself see this."

Miss Tarbell writes about these things. She in her study sends out into the world much that is good, much that is foolish, but much that is helpful. Ida Tarbell writes. But Jane Addams *lives* them and she does them. Jane Addams is down in the heart of it and she demands the ballot. So do all the social workers everywhere—the real social workers who understand the causes and the remedies demand the ballot.

Miss Tarbell says: "It is not too much to say that the revelations of corruption in our American cities, the use of town councils, State Legislatures and even of the Federal Government in the interests of private business, have discredited the democratic system throughout the world. It has given more material for those of other lands who despise democracy to sneer at us than anything that has yet happened in this land. And this has come about under the regimé of the emancipated woman." Woman is not emancipated. Woman is not enfranchised. Woman is not an active co-operating part of the government's life; she is not a force with which politicians feel they need to deal. The one great power which she could yield in the democracy is withheld from her. Why does not Miss Tarbell claim for women all the progress, all the culture, all the development of the last hundred years, since she has laid upon them the responsibility of the evils of the last hundred years Then Miss Tarbell would have carried her case to its limit and not only annihilated man as a responsible agent from society and political life, but from the earth altogether.

"THE HOMELESS DAUGHTER."

BY

RHETA CHILDE DORR.

I WILL tell you what I think is the matter with Ida Tarbell: There is only one thing the matter with her and that is she has a masculine mind. The great big average masculine mind when it comes to thinking about women just stops work.

Now, there are two types of successful women —one type which is rapidly disappearing, and then there is this new type, represented by the suffragists, that absolutely refuses success unless all our sisters can have it, too.

In this last article, Miss Tarbell takes the daughter who comes home and hasn't anything to do. Why, of course, she hasn't anything to do—there isn't anything to do at home now. There is nothing for the girl to do at home when she stays at home and Miss Tarbell sees that—but she thinks it's somebody's fault—it's because the mother is making a man of herself. My friends, the best thing that ever happened to us women was work. As long as that work was at home we did it at home, and when it got out of the home we followed it out of the home. The homeless daughter is not an object of sympathy. The homeless daughter is simply the woman who always was and always will be, a woman who wants to make herself useful. And that's why we want to work—because we will be more useful to the world.

My friends, you are tired and I am not going to say any more—just this. There is a very beautiful woman in Hartford (the head of the Hartford Equal Suffrage League), and she and her husband talk a great deal on woman suffrage. One day her little son, a boy of six, went to school and lifted his hand up and wanted to talk. For a time the teacher paid no attention to him, but finally said: "Well, Tommy, what is it? If it is very important you may say it." And he said: "It is very important; the women in California have got the vote." Now, it happens it was the most important thing in the news

that day because that vote in California gave the impetus which is going to get the vote in six States this Fall, we hope.

These articles made me think of nothing so much as that Old Mother Goose rhyme:

"Mother, may I go out to swim?"
Yes, my darling daughter,
But don't go near the water."

And by the way, Mother Goose was the greatest humanist that ever lived. You are all familiar with:

"Peter, Peter pumpkin eater,
Had a wife and couldn't feed her.
He put her in a peanut shell
And there he kept her very well.

Peter, Peter had another
And didn't love her.
Peter learned to read and spell
And then he loved her very well."

And that's the way it will be when we get the vote—you will love us very well. You will see that the newer woman is a thousand times more worth possessing than the old.

THE INLAND FARMER

By Sarah Noble-Ives.

Illustrated by the Author.

VI.—THE HIRED MAN.

SENCE we got our Hired Man
Things is runnin' on a plan
Diffrunt frum our last year's way
When Melissy raked the hay.
Farm is payin' better now,
Fer I've found that I c'u'd plow
An' seed down ten acres more
I c'u'd never work afore:
M'lissy runs the house, you see—
Out-o'-doors for Bob an' me.
House is lookin' most like new,
Curtins in the winders, too;
Pots o' posies here an' there,
Cushion in my rockin' chair.
Everythin' is runnin' prime,
Meals is ready right on time.
All this come about, 'I van,
Sence we got our Hired Man.

M'lissy's gittin' round an' fair—
Nothin' like her anywhere;
Growin' sweeter every day—
Like a meller peach!—An' say—
Best uv all, they's one thing more—
That's our Baby, on the floor.
Finest girl you ever saw!
Spittin' image uv her Maw.
First one wuz a boy, ye know,
Lost him jest three year ago.
Sort o' spindlin'—pined away—
Wasn't strong enuff ter stay.
Landy! how Melissy cried
When the little feller died.
Those days she wuz helpin' me
With the farm-work, an' ye see,
She was druv too hard that Fall—
Hadn't strength enuff fer all.
Best I ever did, er *can*—
Wuz ter git a Hired Man!

Sence the Hired Man hez come,
Evenin's I stay 'round ter hum.
When the stock is housed an' fed,
An' the supper dishes done,
M'lissy puts the Girl ter bed;
An' we hev the greatest fun!

Count her fingers an' her toes,
While we're takin' off her clo'es.
You should hear Melissy sing!
Cuddlin' the little thing.
Shets her peepers like a mouse—
Wouldn't know she's in the house.
Why, that kid is jest a toy—
Wouldn't *had* her been a boy!
M'lissy, too, well, she is *folks!*
Greatest one fer crackin' jokes!
Keeps me guessin' an' perplexed,
Wond'rin' what is comin' next.
Makes me laff so I can't speak,
Makes me court her once a week.
With Melissy fer my wife,
I've jest fell in love with Life.
Work an' everythin' is play—
Hired Man hez come ter stay!

Sence we got the Hired Man,
Afterwhiles we set an' plan
How we'll eddicate the Kid—
Give her all the things we missed—
Listen what Melissy did!
Couldn't wait, ye know—she jist
Sent fer cattylogs—got four!
Well'sly an' that air Brin More,
Smith an' Vassar. Oh, yes, fust
There'll be Grammar School an' High;
Then that little pidgin pie
Goes ter College—er we bust!
M'lissy says the Country may
Need our little girl some day.
When the wimmen vote she'll know
What ter do an' where ter go,
How ter ballot an' who for,
An' a lot o' l'arnin' more—
How ter live an' do her part—
Bless her little sleepin' heart!
Course we got ter work fer this,
But it's wuth it, says Meliss.
Tell you what, we never can
Do without a Hired Man!

BUDGETS OF THE TRIANGLE FIRE VICTIMS

BY
ELIZABETH DUTCHER.
Agent, Joint Relief Committee, Ladies' Waist and Dressmakers' Union, No. 25, and Member of the Red Cross Emergency Relief Case Committee.

IT is now over a year since the terrible fire in the Triangle shirt-waist factory in Washington Place, where one hundred and forty-six people lost their lives, and many more were injured. The large relief fund of $120,000, which was at once raised to meet the needs of the sufferers, was dispersed after unusually careful and searching investigations made by the relief organizations, the Red Cross Committee and the Joint Relief Committee of the Ladies' Waist Makers' Union. Some of the families required long, continued care in the process of adjustment after the shock, and the final reports of the relief committees are just being made public. These reports are detailed, and because they give the facts so fully, and because most of the cases are concerned with the problem of one young working woman, they are of very unusual interest.

In the subway the other day a significant little group brought vividly before me the most striking lesson learned by the Relief Committee in the Triangle fire disaster.

Two prettily dressed Russian-Jewish girls, distinctly of the more refined, intelligent type, but quite as distinctly working girls, came in with their stolid little brother, still in his double-breasted Russian blouse and peaked cap, and carrying his other earthly belongings in a truly amazing basket arrangement. The group boarded the train at South Ferry, and at Brooklyn Bridge station scurried out to take a local for some East Side point, but in between, the sisters spent every minute pointing out objects of interest to the little immigrant, who seemed stolidly indifferent. No wonder they were elated. It was a triumphant occasion. They, the girls of the family, had dared, in the first place, the great adventure of coming to America—first one sister—if the usual procedure had been followed—then the other; they had scrimped and saved to send back money regularly to the old folks at home, and had finally gotten enough together to bring the little brother over. Now the day of his arrival had come; they had taken the day off to meet him, and put on their best clothes to celebrate.

To-morrow will find them in the factory again, and the to-morrows after. Eager for knowledge themselves, but getting only bits of it through some evening class or radical club, they will proceed to give brother an "American education," possibly a full professional training, and will go on to import all the rest of the family. The father, if he is forty-five or so, will not work at all, beyond a possible small push-cart or street soda-water stand, partly because he is really broken by hard work and privations, partly because he cannot learn the language, and partly for religious reasons—the habits of a lifetime make him keep the Jewish ritual more strictly than can possibly

be reconciled with American working conditions. The East Side is full of grave patriarchal men of mature years, who seem to have no earthly occupation, other than that of frequenting the houses of prayer. Italians, on the other hand, while not affected by the religious difficulty, must face the language problem, and the fact that they are not wanted, after forty, by contractors on public works—the work for which they are especially fitted. As for the brothers, the whole Jewish tendency is to regard the young men of the family as its important members, whose best development must be secured at any cost, and they are given every possible opportunity for education, and encouraged to regard themselves as free to marry at any time, with but little responsibility to the parents. The girls, on the contrary, find work easier, keep it more steadily (we shall take up the reasons for this later), and do not dream of marriage until every one's future is carefully provided for. After marriage, they will continue to feel very serious responsibility, and the old people will usually be found living with them. Such is the life of the ordinary East Side girl—the girl who is looked upon as a credit to her family and wins public commendation as a "good girl." It is a life well illustrated by the lives of the Triangle fire victims, as shown by the records kept by the Relief Committee. Perhaps there is not a better opportunity for getting a real insight into the lives of these women than these relief budgets offer. The problem of the working woman's life is continually on our lips: it is endlessly written about; and the condition it represents forms one of the most constantly used arguments for extending the franchise to women. Much of what is said is, frankly, guess-work. There are still many people who secretly believe that women come into industry in a very casual way: that they are not earnest about it; that their chief desire is to obtain through it extra spending money; and that men are their natural protectors, who stand between them and the stern realities, and accordingly represent them in the public life of the country. To all of us, perhaps, these budgets come as a shock, and bring a revelation.

The regular charity organization record is carefully gleaned by the same trained investigators who made these records, and with the same purpose: to find the exact status of the family and the best way to meet its needs. But the ordinary charity organization case represents something quite different. The people who seek relief are the *abnormal* people, the people who cannot maintain themselves in the struggle for existence and, going under, throw up despairing hands for help. But the women who jumped from the tenth story of the Ashe Building were self-reliant working women, who had never asked for charitable assistance,* and who were making their way in the average fashion—or a little above the average, for the strain of work in this particular factory was very great, and capable women, of good physique, who could be speeded up, and work overtime during the busy season, were sought after by the employers.

What is the first statement made in the Report of the Red Cross Committee? Says that report:

"The families affected by the Washington Place fire were for the most part Jewish and Italian immigrants . . . dependent largely on the earnings of girls and women."

These girls then, just at the age when clothes and good times make their greatest appeal, were not working at a power machine in a high loft building for nothing. They were there because they were the support of a great number of people.

The Red Cross Committee, with its 166 cases makes the statement we have just quoted. I want to illustrate just how this support was given by giving you some figures from the union records, partly because I am more familiar with them, and partly because they are the families where such heavy responsibilities seem most improbable. One would not expect one girl whose young shoulders carried such heavy burdens to run the risk of a long strike, or to make the sacrifices necessary for paying her union dues and assessments, particularly when she was working in a non-union shop, where organization was discouraged in every possible way.**

Sixty-five cases were taken for continued care by the Joint Relief Committee. These included families where one or members had been killed or injured in the disaster, and there was some union connection.

Of these sixty-five Jewish and Italian families, sixty-two of the victims were girls or women (four families having two women victims each; seven families having men victims only):

(a) *Fifteen* gave practically all their salary *toward* the support of families living in America.

(b) ******Nineteen*** were the *whole* or *main* support (that is, providing more than one-half of the weekly income) of families living in America. Of these *three* were married, and supported idle husbands, as well as their children, and partly supported aged parents, and † *four* were the heads of families, in the sense that they had younger brothers and sisters living with them as dependents, and no older people.

*P. 7 Report of the Red Cross Emergency Relief Committee: "These were for the most part families who had never received charitable assistance." This is the more remarkable because one in every nine families in New York receive some form of charity every year. Only one of the sixty-five union families had so received aid.

**This was of course the shop where the trouble started, and which was out the longest in the shirt waist strike of 1909-10. The strikers were out five months, and were then compelled to settle on an open shop basis. Most of the union girls who went back were discharged shortly thereafter, and only three of one union cases were girls who had been in the strike.

***In two instances two girls were together the main support of a household.

†Of these one had an older brother who had never helped her in any way, living in another part of the city.

(c) *Twenty-one* sent sums ranging from $5 to $20 per month (verified in all cases by money order receipts), to dependents living in Russia, Austria, Italy, and Palestine.

(d) *Twenty-one* were either alone in New York (without any member of their immediate family in the city), or two sisters were alone and lived and worked together.*

The average age was about nineteen years.

Ever since the Suffrage parade in May, people have been talking of the youth of some of the marching women. They seem to feeel that one must be at least forty and a little rheumatic before one is competent to judge whether woman needs political rights or no. Such people form their ideas from the sheltered girls of their own acquaintance, and some of us think they are rather mistaken about even them.

But these girls in their teens—typical New York working women—were supporting old fathers and mothers, both in this country and abroad, mothering and supporting younger brothers and sisters, sending brothers to high school, to art school, to dental college, to engineering courses. By the way, isn't it a curious commentary on the old Miltonic ideal for women:

"He for God only, she for God in him," that so many of these girls were working at the swift electric machines, overtime, and even Sundays, in the busiest season, sapping their young strength and energy in order to support fathers of forty-five, who were devoting the remainder of their lives to religious meditation, either in New York or in the Zionist colonies of Palestine?

Why is it so easy for the woman worker to get work, and why is she becoming more and more in some parts of our community, as these budgets show, the dependable family bread-winner? The answer is not in her deftness alone; it is also her submissiveness and her cheapness. Women will submit to worse conditions, longer hours, and shorter wages than men. People have always said that this was because they were "only working for pin money,"—or, (a grudging concession), that they "had only themselves to support." We have seen from the above what heavy responsibilities they in reality carry. Is the low wage, the submission, an inheritance from the days when the working girl was first edging timidly into industry, driven by her wants and glad to get any return for her day's work? Or is it that there is always in the back of the employer's mind, the sense of her sex-inferiority—the knowledge that she belongs to a group without political rights, who may be oppressed with impunity, and forced to underbid her own men-folks? Be this as it may, *it is easier for a woman worker to-day to get a job in the factories of New York than for a man to get a similar sort of job,* and more and dependence is being placed upon such workers by their families.

In another article, I want to tell some of the life stories of these girls, and the problems they had had to face in their brief, eventful lives.

*Of course there is considerable duplication in the above list, many girls under (d) coming also under (c). But note, there is no duplication between (a) and (b).

A LETTER FROM CALIFORNIA.

Palo Alto, May 14, 1912.

My Dear Friends:

FATE cannot harm me—I voted to-day. It took five minutes away from home. I met my neighbors. And I want to tell you what real polls look like.

For my precinct, the city hired a new, clean tent and put it up in a grass-covered lot next to a church. In front of the tent were young trees. At the side were the beautiful ivies that covered the church. In the door-way stood a white-haired deacon who is a neighbor. It was a pleasant picture.

Inside the tent there wasn't any extra room. There were the canvas booths, the election officers and their records, etc, one man voter on the way out, and one man voter ahead of me. All were neighbors and recognized me promptly—in fact, they made off-hand, friendly remarks, saying they expected me earlier, they had feared I had forgotten it was voting day, that I was late, and "how do you do?"

A woman clerk looked up my name in her printed list, a man clerk pointed to his book to sign. One of the officers said, "Give her a democratic ballot," while they all looked at me to see how I would take the joke. I answered quickly, "Try it." I guess my neighbors knew I was for La Follette.

I disappeared in a booth, was in eclipse just long enough to make two crosses on my Republican ballot, emerged, handed my folded ballot to another neighbor, and it slid into the box the way John Pierpont said long ago that it would.

"A weapon that comes down as still
As snowflakes fall upon the sod."

Two women neighbors appeared in the door, and I passed them on my way out, mounted my bicycle, and came home to tell you two things: one is that voting takes a few minutes only; the other that there hasn't been a minute of the day since last October that it hasn't made an appreciable difference in the treatment of women by men in California. We have lost our old "deconsideration." We find ourselves considered all the time now, and it feels good. There is a difference hard to put into words. We were not "people" last year. We are people now.

Yours for Ohio,

ALICE PARK.

ABDUL BAHA AND WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE

BY

WENDELL PHILLIPS DODGE.

ABDUL BAHA ABBAS, the head of the great Bahai Movement for the Unification of Religions and the establishment of Universal Peace, who graciously addressed a meeting of The Woman Suffrage Party at the Metropolitan Temple on the evening of May 20th, and who "has come out" strongly for "woman's rights," so-called, is the most remarkable personage in the world to-day. Since the age of nine, when his Father, Baha 'U'llah, the founder of the Bahai Movement, was banished from Persia, after casting aside his rank and title of a Prince of the Royal Family, to promulgate his views of Religious Unity and International Peace, Abdul Baha has been a prisoner. For forty of these long years he was confined within the great fortress walls of "The Prison City" of Acca, Syria (Palestine), made famous in the times of the Crusades, and many times since in the history of the world. He was not liberated until the Young Turks came into power, after overthrowing Sultan Abdul Hamed, of Turkey, four years ago. Then, for the first time, he walked the earth a "free" man, and went to Egypt. Last year he visited Paris, parts of Switzerland, and London, where he addressed large gatherings in Westminster Abbey, and in other places. Coming here in April, he paid his first visit to America, for the purpose of spreading his World-Message of Good Will and Peace to all mankind.

No sooner had he reached these shores, while coming up the Bay aboard the S. S. *Cedric*, than he declared to the Ship News reporters of the New York newspapers, the writer among them, that Universal Peace would not be a reality until women had the right to vote!

Speaking further, he said:

"If women were educated with the same advantages as men, their capacity being the same, the result would be the same. In fact, women have a superior disposition to men, they are more receptive, more sensitive, their intuition is more intense. The only reason of their present backwardness in some directions is because they have not had the same educational advantages as men.

"If a mother is well educated, her children will also be well taught. If the mother is wise, the children will be wise; if the mother is religious, the children will also be religious. If the mother is a good woman, then the children will also be good. The future generation depends then on the mothers of to-day. Is not this a vital position of responsibility for women?

"Surely, God does not wish such an important

Courtesy of THE INDEPENDENT

instrument as woman to be less perfect than she is able to become! Divine Justice demands that men and women should have equal rights. There is no difference between them; neither sex is superior to the other in the sight of God."

Later, when asked if he would address The Woman Suffrage Party, Abdul Baha, whose name, translated into English, means "The Servant of God," which he surely is, said:

"One of the great things which was hidden in the realm of existence was the potential capability or capacity of womankind.

"In past ages, woman was wronged and oppressed. Alas! most especially was this the case in Asia and Africa and Australia. In these three continents, women were most greatly oppressed. So much so that in certain parts of Asia women were not considered as members or parts of the humankind! They considered womankind as an inferior people, or race or kind. There is a certain people, known as the Nosyrians, who held to this belief for a long period, namely, that woman was the manifestation of the evil spirit or Satan; and that man alone was the manifestation of the Merciful One or the Lord.

"At last this century of light has arrived. In this age the realities of things have been ex-

posed. Many mysterious things have become revealed, and among them this very subject. So that outside of Europe and America, and even in the Orient to-day it is a well-known fact, if not well practiced, that womankind is equal to mankind.

"There have appeared women who have been verily the signs of guidance, might and power! Some have been notable poets. Some, philosophic minds. Some brave and courageous. Among the brave were those who exhibited their valor and courage on the battlefields. And the poetesses have left their poetical works, which are master-pieces of literature. To the latter class belongs Kurrat El-Ayn, who was a Bahai. She was the one who discomfited all the learned men of Persia. In whatsoever meeting, when she entered, the learned were silent. She was so well versed in the philosophy and sciences of the times that the learned men always considered her first. And her courage was unparalleled, to the extent that she withstood her enemies until she was killed. She withstood a king and monarch, the Shah of Persia, who was a most despotic man, a despot who through his decree could kill a thousand men each day. There was not a day during which he did not kill many people.

"This woman, singly and alone, was capable of withstanding such a monarch until her last breath, and then she offered her life—forfeited it—for the cause of womankind and humanity.

"What is the difference between man and woman? Both are human. In all the functions and powers they are co-partners. At most it has been this: That woman has not had the opportunities which man has so long enjoyed, especially education. She has not had military tactics. If she cannot go on the battlefield and kill, is that a shortcoming? Supposing she has not used a gun, she has not worked the cannon. If we present a cannon to a woman and ask her to fire it and she should fail, is that an imperfection? At most we can say it is a compliment, or praise to her, that in the hardness of the heart she is inferior to man!

"If we say to womankind, 'come along and kill people,' they will say, 'We cannot do it.' Now, that is not a shortcoming. But, be it known that if womankind had been trained according to military tactics, I believe that they could kill many, too! But God forbid womankind to learn military tactics! May they never make up their minds to take up the gun. Because that is not a glory. Home-making and joy-creating and comfort-making are truly glories of man! Man should not glory in this, that he can kill people. Man should glory in this, that he can love his neighbor as himself.

"You may be interested to know that in Persian and Arabic there are two words distinct, which in English are translated 'man.' In Persian and Arabic there is this distinction, when the word 'man' is used in one sense it means both man and woman, and the pronoun is referable to both; whereas, there is a word which distinguishes the male and the female. We use the word 'man' as applicable to man alone, as though it referred to the male alone, whereas it doesn't at all. We use the word 'man' in English as applicable to both. In the Hebrew it is the same.

"That which God has not created, that distinction which He has not made, we must not observe. It is a superstition. The thing which is to be considered, however, is this, that womankind must be more highly educated. They must have equal opportunities with men. There must be no difference whatsoever between their education. And until this reality, namely, the equality between the male and the female in the human kingdom, is fully established, is fully realized, the highest attainment for society is not made possible.

"Supposing womankind is inferior to man in a certain degree, even if that be the case, that is not to be considered, because this very distinction is going to create discord and trouble. They will say, well, if womankind is inferior, therefore she is not to be qualified with all the qualities man has. In brief, man thinks himself superior to us. And their ambition may wax cold, saying that he will not attempt to reach the same station because it is creationally impossible. This love of advancement would wax less. They would become hopeless.

"On the contrary, we must declare that their capacity is greater. When man endeavors to educate a person, he should inspire him with hope and ambition until the susceptibilities for progress may increase. And he should not be told that he is inferior or weaker in qualities. If you tell a pupil in the school that his intelligence is less than the other pupils, it is a very great drawback for his advancement. Instead, he must be encouraged to advance. You should say to him, 'You are most capable and if you endeavor, you will reach the highest mark,' and that is the way it should be.

"In short, my hope is that in the five continents where this is not fully established, it may be established and the banner of equality may be raised. And let it be known once more that until womankind and mankind realize this equality, progress is not made possible. The world of humanity consists of two divisions, of two parts. One part or member is woman, the other is man. Until the two are equal in strength, the oneness of humanity cannot be realized. And the happiness of humankind will not be a reality. God willing, this is to be so."

THE WOMEN OF TO-MORROW

WILLIAM HARD'S recent book, *The Women of To-morrow,"* is a refreshing and sympathetic appreciation of the position of woman in modern society. Instead of scolding her for being uneasy and prating about mediæval home duties which no longer exist, he seeks to interpret the "big industrial unfoldment which is exposing all women, willing or unwilling, to the winds of the social process, which is giving to all women, whether home-keepers or wanderers, in place of the old home world, the new world-home."

Not natural depravity but the factory system and city life is at the root of the woman question. A changing social situation is bound to alter the characteristics of both men and women. The modern man is no more like the patriarchal father with his long beard and large brood than is the new woman like her great-grandmother who combined the offices of household drudge, factory girl, gardener, doctor, brewer, mother and teacher. But who scolds the man of to-day? He is really neglecting his sphere when he permits the packing-houses to prepare meat, the contractor to build dwellings and the great farmer to plant and reap for him. "By the invention of power-driven machines and by the distribution of the compact industries of the home out and into the scattered, innumerable business enterprises of the community, Science has given us, in place of a simple and near world, a complicated and distant one."

Mr. Hard treats of five phases in the development of modern woman. The first chapter, "Love Deferred," shows the economic background of late marriage. "Early marriage," he says, "was made by economic advantages. It was destroyed by economic changes. It will not be restored except by economic adjustments."

"Learning for Earning," shows woman's invasion into the working world. The logical consequence of a belated bride is a self-supporting woman. "As marriage recedes, and as the period of gainful work before marriage lengthens, the need of real preparation for that gainful work becomes steadily more urgent, and the United States moves steadily onward unto an era of trained women as well as of trained men." Thus we find a steady development of educational opportunities along professional trade and industrial lines. "The father of Frederick the Great used to go about his realm with a stick, and when he saw a woman in the street he would shake the stick at her and say: 'Go back into the house. An honest woman keeps indoors.' Probably quite sensible," adds Mr. Hard. "When she went indoors, she went into a job. The 'middle class' daughter of to-day, if her mother is living and housekeeping, goes indoors into a vacuum."

"Learning for Spending" reveals the new problems of the housekeeper and her need of intelligence as a consumer. In a period of "ready-to-eat foods and ready-to-wear clothes" comes, strange to relate, the most serious, the most notable recognition ever given in any age to the home's economic value." As the author pertinently remarks, "the revival of the home seems to attract larger crowds to the mourners' bench every year." The elevation of home economics to the rank of a science, the rapid increase of special schools for domestic art and the introduction of this subject in the elementary school curriculum is indicative of the new attitude. With this phase of women's training comes also new emphasis upon her duty as a buyer, and the "effort to determine problems in civic life which seem to be a part of the duties of women."

"The Masters" explains the doll. We have sometimes been harsh in our judgment of the parasitic daughter of the rich, the woman of the leisure class who passes from the idleness of her father's home to the idleness of her husband's establishment. We forget that "she was brought up to think that leisure was woman's natural estate. Work, for any girl, she regarded as an accident due to the unexpected and usually reprehensible collapse of the males of the poor girl's family." It is small wonder that this type "deadheads" her way through life. Mr. Hard lays the blame upon those who "trained her out of the life of the race into race-death." For the doll is the victim of circumstances which remove from the soil of struggle.

Activity, such as is found in economic independence for the worker, and social service and citizenship for the woman with leisure, is the writer's solution for many of the problems discussed. The last chapter, "Mothers of the World," is a stirring tribute to the new womanliness, using the Chicago Woman's Club as illustrative of the evolution of social service. Women, naturaly enough, were first interested in kindergartens, and when the City was persuaded to take over the pioneer kindergartens, they turned their attention to vacation schools. From this, the road to interest in citizenship was via school extension, industrial education and juvenile court. Mr. Hard thinks that women who have been actively engaged in such work for the public good come ultimately to a desire for citizenship. "It's simply a sequence to women's interest in the world's housekeeping."

In a closing soliloquy, a woman says, "That weary ancient world, recoiling from its luxuries, its dissipations, its surfeits, turned to pessimistic mysticism, to the theory that the things of the flesh are vile, to monastic withdrawal into the desert and the mountains, to the life of inward searchings.

"This modern world is turning to optimistic materialism, to the theory that the flesh and the things of the flesh can be made noble, to anti-tuberculosis societies and juvenile courts, to the life of outward workings.

"That world found peace in *renunciation*. This world seeks peace in service."

Responding to this, is the question, "Who are you?"

"I," comes the reply, "I am the spirit that made woman love her child, and that shall yet make her love her kind."

BOOKS RECEIVED.

The Mission of Victoria Wilhelmenia. By Jeanne Bartholow Magoun. Price, $1.00 net. B. W. Huesch, New York.

The Women of To-morrow. By William Hard. Price, $1.50 net. Baker, Taylor & Company, New York. (See review.)

No Surrender. By Constance E. Maud. Price, $1.25 net. John Lane Company. To be reviewed later.

Anti-Suffrage. Ten Good Reasons. Grace Duffield Goodwin. Price, Fifty cents net. Duffield & Company, New York. Reviewed in July number.

THE VOTE AND THE SHELTERED WOMAN

BY

LOUISE MAUNSELL FIELD.

WHEREVER women meet nowadays, the question of suffrage is almost invariably discussed, and one of the comments frequently made, sometimes by an "anti," sometimes by one of the indifferent, is this: "Well, I don't see what good the vote is going to do it."

In nine hundred and ninety-nine cases out of a thousand the woman who speaks thus is fed and clothed and housed, not by her own labor, but by that of somebody else. She can afford to buy pure milk for her babies, her surroundings are luxurious, her children are educated exclusively in private schools, she can pay to have her own street kept clean and her own garbage removed by private contractors: she is in no obvious danger from inadequate factory laws or inadequate enforcement of factory laws, and she is not clear-sighted enough to discover peril to herself in the defective housing and bad sanitary conditions of other people. She is, or believes herself to be, comfortable and well protected.

And the amazing egotism of her point of view never seems to occur to her, until, if she is fortunate, something awakens her dormant sense of moral responsibility and makes of her a convert.

For, if the woman suffrage propaganda had done nothing else it would have justified its existence in this—that it *has* awakened the sense of moral responsibility among a very large number of women belonging to the leisure, sheltered class. They have learned that they cannot hold themselves aloof from the rest of the world, cannot live in a fair garden surrounded by impassable barriers. The cry of the hungry, of those who are being sucked down into that seething whirl-pool of vice whose very existence the sheltered woman has but recently become willing to acknowledge, pierces now through every wall, calling to those within to come to the aid of those without; pleading, demanding that those who have shall give, not charity, but better opportunities to those who have not.

"What good will the vote do me?" does the sheltered woman ask!

If it be good to have a keen-edged weapon with which to fight in the great battle for social welfare, that good will it do her: if it be good to have a sense of personal responsibility, that good will it do her. The mere attempt to get it has linked together in a new realization of their common humanity women of many diverse classes. And it is here that the high and noble element of the suffrage campaign shows itself most plainly. The Crusader of yore sought for the salvation of his own soul; interwoven with his cause there was the hope of a direct personal gain. But the women who to-day stand at the forefront of the Suffrage Crusade are most of them women who in winning the ballot would win not something to contribute to their personal welfare, but a tool with which to help in the work of the world, that work some of them are trying now to do with empty hands.

Jane Addams will be no more respected, no more beloved when she becomes a fully enfranchised citizen than she is to-day, for that would be impossible; but she will then be able to rely on a large body of voters who, lacking the rare gifts which make her, ballotless, a force to be reckoned with, are nevertheless, those best fitted to comprehend and sympathize with her.

A hoe with which to root out the weeds that choke the good grain, a sword with which to fight in the everlasting struggle against evil—these the vote will give to the sheltered woman.

WOMAN'S VOICE.

BY

IDA MONROE.

LOYAL hearts and hands are banding,
And they hasten to the fore,
Equal rights at once demanding,
Open wide the Voter's door.
Too long woman has been trampled,
Forced to work for lesser pay,
Every grievance that has rankled
Bids us claim the right of way.

Woman's voice is loudly calling,
And it echoes far and near,
Tramp of busy feet fast falling
For the cause we all hold dear.
Unto woman highest glory
From the cradle to the grave,
Hers the watchword, sweet its story,
Long the Suffrage Flag to wave.

FROM THE FIRING LINE.

SUFFRAGE campaigns are now on in Kansas, Oregon, Wisconsin, Michigan and Ohio. For detailed news from each State, see *The Woman's Journal*, organ of the National Woman Suffrage Association, issued weekly from 585 Boylston Street, Boston, Mass.

OHIO SUFFRAGISTS MOVING MOUNTAINS!

MAGNIFICENT work is being done in Ohio by local and visiting suffragists. Springfield, Cincinnati, Columbus, Canton and Youngstown are contending for the palm, while a score of smaller places have organized or are entering upon a new phase of activity. In every case visiting organizers are receiving local support, quite as strong from men as from women. The entire group of municipal officers of Cleveland are suffragists, from the Mayor and Chief of Police on through, while every member of the City Council has signed for suffrage. The Finance Committee of the Party comprises Judge Alexander Hadden, chairman, the retiring and incoming presidents of the Chamber of Commerce, and several of the best known leading men and women of the city. If the Finance Committee is an indication of the state of the Party treasury, the Standard Oil Trust should beware. But Cleveland is not a high-brow suffrage town. The workers and the foreign population are as strong for the cause as are the Mayflowers. The Austrian and Italian consuls are suffragists, the colored wards are organized, and the Yiddish press is favorable.

A spectacular feature of the campaign is the scouting parties of suffragists on the trail of the presidential candidates. These bands will precede and follow the special trains in automobiles, speaking to crowds in the open air wherever they wait the candidates, using banners, yellow bunting, and colored flyers to emphasize the message.

New York is officially represented by Jeannette Rankin, of Montana, who worked through the two successful suffrage campaigns in Washington and California. Miss Rankin is sent by Mrs. Laidlaw, Manhattan Borough chairman of the Woman Suffrage Party of New York. She was the representative sent to Albany during the last legislative session, by the union of suffrage organizations in New York City, and is accustomed to all kinds of speaking.

MICHIGAN.

THE State Grange of Michigan, numbering 60,000 members and the State Federation of Labor have not only indorsed suffrage, but are organizing campaign committees and have representatives questioning candidates.

OREGON.

MRS. STRANDBORG, secretary of the Oregon Association, writes of a remarkable change in the attitude of the press. She says that the newspaper exchanges show that suffrage editorials and news items are being used generously throughout the State.

KANSAS.

JANE ADDAMS was the guest of Kansas during the convention week. "From the moment she entered our State," writes the press agent, "welcomed by over two hundred women in an automobile parade at Kansas City, she had the hearts of Kansas men and women. She spoke repeatedly, from automobiles, at luncheons and convention sessions. Everywhere sympathetic treatment of the subject of equal suffrage won her audiences."

WISCONSIN.

A STRONG feature of the Wisconsin campaign is the Press Bulletin issued by the Political Equality League, with headquarters in Milwaukee. The bulletin is prepared especially for the press, giving notes of the campaign, propaganda articles and interesting items. The last leaflets, sent to THE WOMAN VOTER, indicate that a lively campaign is in progress.

"VOTES FOR WOMEN" IN A PHOTO-PLAY

BY

FRANCES MAULE BJORKMAN.

"VOTES FOR WOMEN" in moving pictures, for long a dream of all good suffragists, is about to become a reality.

On the 26th of June, a "photo-play," written, arranged and produced under the direction of the National Woman Suffrage Association, will be released to all the independent moving-picture theatres all over the country; and thereafter any suffragist in any town that has a moving-picture theatre not in the trust, can have it for the asking—providing that she can convince the manager of the theatre that enough people want it to make it worth his while.

The play, which is called simply "Votes for Women," is built along the lines of the educational photo-plays which have already been produced under the direction of the Division of Recreation of the Russell Sage Foundation, the National Association for the Study and Prevention of Tuberculosis, the National Child Labor Committee, the National Committee on Prison Labor and the National Kindergarten Association. It is at once a sociological study, a suffrage speech and a drama having all the thrills and the heart interest of an old-fashioned Hal Reid masterpiece.

A suffrage bill is pending in a State Legislature, and the vote of one especially powerful senator is needed to swing the others into line and assure victory. The senator is engaged to a rich and beautiful young lady, who, having always lived the sheltered life, knows nothing whatever about social conditions, and is therefore naturally indifferent to the subject of suffrage. She has a friend, however, who is an ardent suffragist, and this friend, knowing that the senator can be won through his love for the girl, sets about showing her, by ocular demonstration, some of the reasons why women need to vote.

In canvassing her Senatorial District, the suffragist has learned that the senator is the owner of a wretched tenement where the father of a family of helpless girls is dying of tuberculosis. She takes the rich and self-satisfied young lady to visit these people. They find that the father has just died. The oldest girl, having now to stay at home and mind the baby, has taken to doing hand embroidery. The next oldest has found a job in a department store. The littlest one—a part-time scholar—runs ribbons in corset covers after school hours. The baby is ailing—because of impure milk, the suffragist explains.

The rich young lady's self-satisfaction receives a severe jolt—but worse is in store for her. In the midst of her first thrill of indignation over social wrong and injustice, her suffragist friend reveals to her the fact that her fiancé is responsible for the conditions which have so horrified her. On top of this, the little shop girl comes in and announces that she has lost her job because she resisted the advances of the floor-walker; and the rich young lady learns that all this has taken place in the great department store of which her father is proprietor and which is the source of all her own wealth and comfort.

She appeals to both her father and her fiancé to right these wrongs, but they laugh at her indulgently and tell her that she "doesn't understand business."

In that moment she becomes a suffragist. She joins the suffrage organization—which, by the way, is the most beautiful blend ever of Party, Union, State Association and National—signs a pledge to march in the parade, and attends a meeting of the Wage-earners' Suffrage League, where she learns more about what the women want to accomplish with the vote—from, it may be said in passing, Mrs. James Lees Laidlaw as speaker.

She renews her efforts to awaken her father and lover to their sense of social responsibility, but they continue tolerantly amused: in one scene they are pictured as enjoying themselves vastly at the expense of "The Woman Voter."

Then the climax! The rich and beautiful young lady is stricken with scarlet fever. Whence? How? The suffragist friend supplies the explanation. She has seen the rich and beautiful one's bridal gown being hand-embroidered by the little sweat-shop worker at the very time when she (the worker) was passing through the most highly contagious stage of the disease.

Then the father and the senator come round. The senator "does over" the tenement, and announces his intention to vote for the suffrage bill. "We Need the Women's Help," is the title of this scene. He visits headquarters, where he is seen presenting Dr. Anna Howard Shaw and Miss Jane Addams with his check for $5,000.00 for the cause, joins the Men's League, and marches in the suffrage parade. The last scenes show all the leading characters as they join their various parade sections, and the play ends with a general view of the parade.

The leading parts are, of course, taken by professionals, but those of Dr. Shaw and Miss Addams are filled by themselves; and numerous well-known suffragists appear in all the "big" scenes showing the suffrage headquarters, meetings, and parade enrollment stations.

Among them are Mrs. James Lees Laidlaw, Mrs. A. C. Hughston, Mrs. Mary Beard, Mrs. Raymond Brown, Mrs. Marcia Townsend, Miss Harriet May Mills, Miss Anna Maxwell Jones, Miss Mary Keegan, Mrs. Mary Ware Dennett, Miss Eleanor Byrnes, Mrs. Ida Rauh Eastman, Miss Anne Forsythe, Mrs. Frances Maule Bjorkman and Mrs. Florence Maule Cooley. Representing the Men's League are R. C. Beadle, Mr. James Lees Laidlaw, Max Eastman, and Frederick Green.

EDITORIALS

IT is with deep regret that THE WOMAN VOTER announces the resignation of Mrs. Mary Beard as editor. Mrs. Beard's work is known to all who have watched the magazine develop from a small beginning to the present size and form. Its successful evolution is due to her untiring effort and enthusiasm. Mrs. Beard brought to the VOTER a wide interest in social movements and a sympathetic understanding of the problems of women, particularly the workers. After a much-needed vacation, she will continue her work for the Party in the Wage-earners' League, which she was active in initiating and which now claims her undivided service.

MORE HOURS FOR LIVING.

NEW YORK STATE has given its working women six hours more each week for living. By the passing of the Fifty-four Hour Bill, six hours of vital human energy has been saved, for rest, for recreation, for enjoyment.

The bill, an important piece of social legislation, provides that neither women nor minors may work more than fifty-four hours in any one week, or more than ten hours in any one day. It is to be regretted that the bill makes an exception of the canning industry, with its five to six thousand women employes, and, that with regard to the ten hours of labor no specific mention is made of what those hours shall be. Aside from these defects it is a step toward the short working day which will ultimately safeguard the health of women not only for themselves but for the next generation.

FATIGUE AND EFFICIENCY.

IN connection with the Fifty-four Hour Bill, we find much of interest in Josephine Goldmark's remarkable book, *Fatigue and Efficiency*. Through the efforts of Miss Goldmark and Mr. Louis Brandeis, who have, for a number of years investigated and digested the facts relating to health and industry, Supreme Court decisions regarding women and industry have been greatly influenced. This information has been published from time to time in brief form. It is now presented in book form, by the Russell Sage Foundation under the title *Fatigue and Efficiency*. Every student of industrial conditions, every social worker, every woman interested in the welfare of other women should read this classic, which presents a new and valid basis for labor legislation.

We hope to present a complete review of the book in a future number of THE WOMAN VOTER. For the Woman Suffrage Party stands for the woman in industry. It was with our division that the Wage-earners' League and the Women's Trade Union League marched in our great parade. Every law that benefits the workers, every book that treats of social conditions and their amelioration, every effort that benefits other women is our concern. So we hail Miss Goldmark as one of the great benefactors of the women of this generation.

MRS. CARRIE CHAPMAN-CATT, founder of the Woman Suffrage Party, accompanied by Dr. Alletta Jacobs, president of the Netherlands Woman Suffrage Association, is now in Java, touring the island and speaking everywhere for woman suffrage. Mrs. Catt is sending THE WOMAN VOTER an article about her experiences on this world tour for women, which will appear in the August issue.

WHERE WOMEN VOTE.

OF the mayoralty campaign in Boise, the Idaho *Daily Statesman* says: "A startling feature of the election was the part played by the women. It had been anticipated that with no carriages to take them to the polls, the women voters would not exercise their right of franchise. On the contrary, as many women as men voted in almost every precinct, and in some places they outvoted the sterner sex."

LEGISLATORS, TAKE NOTICE!

A LOS ANGELES paper recently stated that a certain prominent citizen would be the natural choice for one of the presidential electors, but that he led the campaign against woman suffrage and is therefore now regarded as "unavailable."

Have you seen the Party news women with their bags, selling THE WOMAN VOTER on the street?

AN IMMEDIATE NEED.

WE call upon every suffragist and every citizen, whether suffragist or not, in the City of New York, to investigate the condition of things in the section of this city known as "Chinatown."

Many splendid men and women are doing anti-vice work in this city, but there is no one truer, nobler or more unselfish than Mrs. Rose Livingston, whose rescue work in Chinatown is familiar to many of our readers.

In the last three or four years she has rescued from Chinatown more than a hundred and sixty young girls and girl-children. Those who are interested in the details of this achievement may obtain an authentic account of her work by referring to various city records and reports of organizations. Year after year she has continued this courageous work at the risk of her life. She has been stabbed and beaten, knocked down and stamped upon, her bones broken and other indignities inflicted upon her. In every possible way, attempts have been made to terrorize her into a cessation of this work.

We must bring to the attention of the city government, of the police officials of New York the fact that Mrs. Livingston has never had any protection in her work in Chinatown. We make no accusations as yet. We simply state this as a fact and it is with the belief that neither Mayor Gaynor or Commissioner Waldo could possibly wish such a state of things to continue and that they are ignorant of the conditions which lie back of the work of Mrs. Livingston, that the Woman Suffrage Party has adopted and sent the following resolutions to Mayor Gaynor and Police Commissioner Waldo:

WE, of the Woman Suffrage Party, hereby call upon Police Commissioner Waldo, to investigate conditions in the section of this city known as Chinatown.

We protest against this pest spot and this menace to safety and morality in our city. We feel that we are on the eve of exposure concerning conditions in this place, which will be a scandal to this city, which we love.

We feel that social workers and missionaries, rescue workers, organizers and canvassers are not safe in that section of the city. We call for adequate police protection for such women who are doing their good work in this unfortunate district.

We point especially to one well-known and respected rescue worker in that district, Rose Livingston, for the evidence of whose work we refer the investigator to various city records and records of organizations whose names will be furnished upon application. She has been repeatedly attacked, stabbed and beaten by the unrestrained cadets of that district from whom she has rescued young girls and little girls.

In the name of decency we demand protection for her life!

We hereby send this warning to the Police Department of New York City that one of our respected and valued citizens and social workers is being menaced with death as she goes about her beneficent work. We consider that having received this warning some adequate protection should be made for Mrs. Livingston's life.

H. B. L.

OUR FRIEND—THE NEW YORK (BEHIND THE) TIMES.

THE editorial attitude of the *Times* reminds one of a person who has had all the advantages of schooling, travel, experience, contact with people and affairs but whose mental machinery is so geared that the whole process has resulted in mere information and not the least bit in real education. Fortunately the rarity of this type makes it seem phenomenal. Were it not so, there would be small incentive for humankind to go struggling on, with the belief that education can actually educate, that environment really counts, and that progressive thought is contagious.

But then—there may possibly be another explanation. Perhaps, after all, the *Times* is not such a pachyderm as it seems. It may be that instead of being utterly impervious to the trend of up-to-date social philosophy, it is simply being heroic, with the sort of heroism most difficult of all, the willingness to be *a fool for the good of the cause!*

Can it be that the dear, good *Times* is as bored as we suffragists are that a thing so obviously just as equal suffrage, a thing so much a foregone conclusion, a thing which is sweeping along so rapidly to its universal fruition, should drag and delay in the State of New York, which prides itself on moving, and therefore tries with a sweet self-abnegation to bring things to a head by solemnly propounding all these mediæval outgrown notions as if they were the newest of new thoughts, knowing full well that people will more readily be shocked into action by finding blatant stupidity and opposition where they would naturally expect intelligence than by columns and columns of moderate and judicial support?

In which case, good friend—here's to you!

N. B.—And in any case, here's to you—for you are bringing votes for women whether you intended it or not!

MARY WARE DENNETT.

SHOULDER TO SHOULDER

By Elizabeth Newport Hepburn.

THE Suffragist and the Semi-Anti were chatting amicably before the meeting began. After the proper inquiries concerning absent husbands and children had been exchanged, the Semi-Anti said suddenly:

"By the way, dear lady, do you consider Mrs. Nemo representative of your organization?"

The Semi-Anti spoke seriously enough, but there was a twitch about her mouth corners. Her blue eyes laughed into the eyes of her friend. She was young, she was charming, with a hint of mischief in her happy, clever little face.

Now, it happened that the Semi-Anti was a most desirable young matron whom the Suffragist yearned to convert to the just cause. The Semi-Anti was brilliantly educated, well-to-do, temperamentally sunshiny, and with brains and leisure which might be so effectively used by one of the many suffrage organizations of her native city.

Remembering several interesting, and alarming crises in her acquaintance with Mrs. Nemo, the Suffragist spoke with some hesitation:

"No-o, I should hardly call her representative. But she is a hard worker, the mother of several healthy children, young, and really handsome and impressive in her lean, grey-hound fashion. All of which you probably know. Why do you ask?"

The Semi-Anti chuckled a little, yet her face was a bit tense as she spoke slowly, with an effect of hunting for the right word:

"I met her the other day at the Astor, after a lecture, and she took for granted I was a suffragist and in some way we fell to discussing men. My dear, she raved, she ranted, she blossomed out into a whole hothouse of tropical language, all for the purpose of picturing the iniquities of men. She said they were brutally selfish, wantonly cruel, slave drivers of women from the beginning of time—that man was the oppressor and woman the oppressed the world over—and she demanded to be told why, why, why this unspeakable situation existed! She seemed to be challenging me—and man. I almost expected her to produce a pistol or a dagger to emphasize her remarks since she speedily exhausted all her adjectives—and had to begin over again."

The Suffragist patted the Semi-Anti's white kid glove.

"Now, honey bird, don't be *mean*," she said. "Of course, we have extremists among us as well as the sane, balanced women one feels safe with, but after all, what great reform was ever achieved without such dangerous advocacy—and we aren't all like that."

"Well, I don't know you *all*," said the Semi-Anti slowly. "And it happens that I met another woman of the same type a few weeks ago, not a young woman like Mrs. Nemo, but all of fifty, and possessed of a competent, devoted, attractive husband. She has absolute freedom, her own bank account and latchkey and club, yet she also declaimed to me concerning man, the oppressor! You would suppose, to hear her talk, that she was a downtrodden, pitiable woman who had borne at least fourteen children to a stone-age husband and who took in washing in order to support him and the fourteen!"

In her excitement the Semi-Anti mixed world epochs with magnificent unconcern.

"As a matter of fact she has one child, three servants, a particularly decent and unselfish husband, who, as Will happens to know, works harder than he should work to provide his wife and daughter with all the luxuries of modern existence, including an automobile and a world-famous nerve specialist whom she consults whenever she has a grouch or an attack of indigestion. It seems she is very highly organized, extraordinarily sensitive, although she looks particularly buxom. But her husband is having their daughter trained in mathematics and logic; obviously he wants one woman in the family who can stick to hard facts."

The Semi-Anti spoke with some heat. As the Suffragist knew, the Semi-Anti possessed a devoted husband of her own, with whom she was deeply and irrevocably in love, which may have been why she seemed to take any diatribe against man as a personal affront.

The Suffragist cast about for the wise word which should prove efficacious in what she diagnosed as a crisis, but the Semi-Anti continued more deliberately:

"It's that sort of arraignment of men, utterly unfair and silly and unscientific, which makes me wonder whether the conservatives may not be right when they say—many of them—that political equality will tend to sex antagonism. If these two people represent the women of To-morrow, then I want to hang onto the sheath skirts of the present or even the antiquated crinolines of the Past!"

"Ah," said the older woman with a triumphant lift of her new Spring hat, "that's just it! Mrs. Nemo and your friend with the overworked husband are women of Yesterday rather than To-

day! It is *because* they have been half-educated, or mis-educated, by their teachers and their parents and even their busy husbands, that their view is so narrow, their outlook on life so limited! Because they haven't imbibed the true spirit of modernity they blame men, collectively and individually, for the slow processes of human and racial development, for the very truths of evolution, for the tardy perfecting of the highest moral ideal of conduct and character. They think that men should have been able to act consciously and intelligently all through the ages, forgetting that men themselves have had to be developed by adaptations to changed economic environments."

"That sounds most impressive," said the Semi-Anti, a trifle sharply, "but *aren't* there a lot of such women, and *don't* they make for sex antagonism?"

The Suffragist spoke a little sadly.

"To tell you the truth I think there are, and that they do!" she confessed, honestly. "And yet the movement itself, and the women in it all over the world, are so much stronger and bigger than either this rabid minority or the antagonism begot of bigotry and bitterness, that the damage done is only temporary. And also many of the women you would criticise justly enough are even more generous of their time and strength and money than dangerous with their tongues! We simply accept their shortcomings and virtue together, hoping that the majority of right-minded people will be sane enough, broad-gauged enough, to perceive the justice of our cause despite all such trivial rantings and bickerings."

The Semi-Anti looked thoughtful, unconvinced, and extremely pretty, with her determined chin, her clear eyes and the deep rose-pink of her cheeks.

"You surely wouldn't condemn any vast world movement because of its bigots and fanatics," continued the Suffragist.

"After all, Marat and Robespierre and the knitting women prepared the way for the French republic of to-day! Look at our own united country, and recall the mischief made by the vicious carpet-bagger class, which made reconstruction so difficult in our South—think of the crimes committed in the name of liberty—and the fact that we still praise it!"

"All the same, I'm not going to join any organization where men are eternally criticised and abused for everything they have done and everything they have failed to do," said the Semi-Anti stubbornly. "All my life I've known perfectly splendid men and not one of them has ever ill-treated me in the smallest particular! And I see other women's menfolk working day and night for their wives and children, patient, tender, self-forgetful men——"

She broke off, a tremor in her voice, usually so steady and strong.

The black-eyed Suffragist was matronly and middle-aged, yet she blushed, an irrepressible, girlish blush. "We don't talk so much about it as we used to, Robert and I, but my dear girl, I, too, happen to be in love with my husband! If it came to the scratch—if we had to sacrifice love and marriage and children for the sake of getting political recognition—most of us would side with Nature, and against Votes for Women. But I don't believe such a choice is any more necessary than it would be to decide which we need most, food or water! We must have both, and we are going to have both, and in a few years it will seem farcical that anybody ever questioned our right to both."

This conversation the Suffragist and the Semi-Anti had been quietly carrying on in the heart of a great hall, rapidly filling, as they talked, with people of all ages and types and social grades. Now the platform was also full, and a small, rather stout gray-haired woman was conspicuously placed in the front row, between a prominent Socialist writer and a frock-coated divine, both large and prosperous-looking men. They made the gray-haired woman look very feminine and very motherly, in her simple gray dress, with an old-fashioned brooch at her throat.

The chairman of the meeting was a tall and handsome young woman in a beautiful gown of black velvet, embroidered in tracings of dull gold. She presided with a distinction which the Semi-Anti recognized as the real thing in social grace.

Yet, when the little gray-haired, elderly woman rose to speak, velvet and beauty and social prestige seemed curiously trivial possessions. For the gray-haired woman was a personage. She held her audience in the palm of her small, plump hand, not by reason of superior millinery or perfect tailoring or bodily beauty, or what is popularly meant by the phrase "personal magnetism," but simply by the force of a vigorous brain, a generous spirit, and an unusual gift of quick, glancing, whimsical wit and a kindly humor.

Perhaps she talked for half an hour, possibly longer, but to her audience it seemed about ten minutes. People laughed with her, or they listened, silent, intent; they were conscious frequently of a disquieting lump in the throat hard to control. Sometimes there were tears to be winked back. All the while the Semi-Anti sat perfectly still, her unwavering blue gaze fixed on the speaker. When the speech was over, the whole house clapped and stamped and even shouted, but the Semi-Anti did not unclasp her passive, white-gloved hands.

At the end, when the last speaker had finished, the Suffragist turned to her friend. The Semi-Anti stirred at last, and met her companion's questioning eyes.

(*Continued on page 31*)

PARTY NOTES

A BIG TORCH-LIGHT PROCESSION.

MANY of us remember in our early days the picturesque old time torch-light parades, such as were held for political purposes. Many an October evening we can remember standing with thrilled delight on the curb-stone as the men in their yellow oilcloth caps and their flickering torches marched by with banners and mottos of political import.

The Woman Suffrage Party proposes to hold a big torch-light parade next November, at a date which will shortly be announced, after we have found one which does not conflict with the plans of any other organization, especially with the National Convention.

This is to be as a celebration for those fortunate States among the five or six campaign States, whose voters have decided in favor of Woman Suffrage amendment, the first Tuesday in November. We are sure there will be occasion for such a carnival of rejoicing, such a pageant of suffrage victory, as we propose this shall be. Also, this occasion will constitute an admonition to our newly-elected State Legislature, that the State of New York ought not any longer be in danger of bringing up the rear of this great onward movement of civilized democracy in this nation, which we love.

When we say that the Woman Suffrage Party is contemplating this we simply mean that we already have on hand plans and parade things for a night parade, but it is in no sense to be a Woman Suffrage Party parade. Every organization, we hope, is to be in the demonstration. A Central Parade Committee will be formed in which every organization which goes into the parade has equal representation. This committee will elect its own permanent chairman. The parade will be headed by an officer for each organization which takes part in it, and the order in which the organizations shall appear in the march will be determined entirely by the drawing of lots. We wish to make it an absolutely cooperative occasion.

While the glow and enthusiasm from our last splendid parade is still in our hearts, we hope to rouse enthusiasm for this next demonstration. We must never rest upon our laurels. Three cheers for the Great Torch-Light Celebration next November.

THE yellow mite-boxes are beginning to come back to Headquarters, and the returns thus far have been surprising and gratifying. The capacity of each box is two dollars, but if silver is used instead of pennies, the amount counts higher. On May 15th a prize box, containing twelve dollars, was received. The "booby" prize was awarded to the box which contained sixteen cents. If you have had your box six months, fill it up and bring it in.

PLANS are now in process for the summer street meetings. On May 22nd, leaders and workers will meet with Mrs. Hughston, chairman of public demonstrations, to arrange for work in each district. Out-of-door meetings have already begun in the 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 6th, 10th, 12th, 13th, 24th and 28th Assembly Districts. For details of time and place consult the bulletin board at Headquarters.

ON the second Monday of each month the 13th Assembly District, with headquarters at 307 West 54th street, holds a public meeting. They promise a good programme, with speaking, music and questions. Everybody welcome.

THE Reverend Frank M. Goodchild, pastor of the Central Baptist Church, corner of Amsterdam avenue and 92nd street, preached a sermon on "The Bible and Woman Suffrage," on Sunday, May 19th.

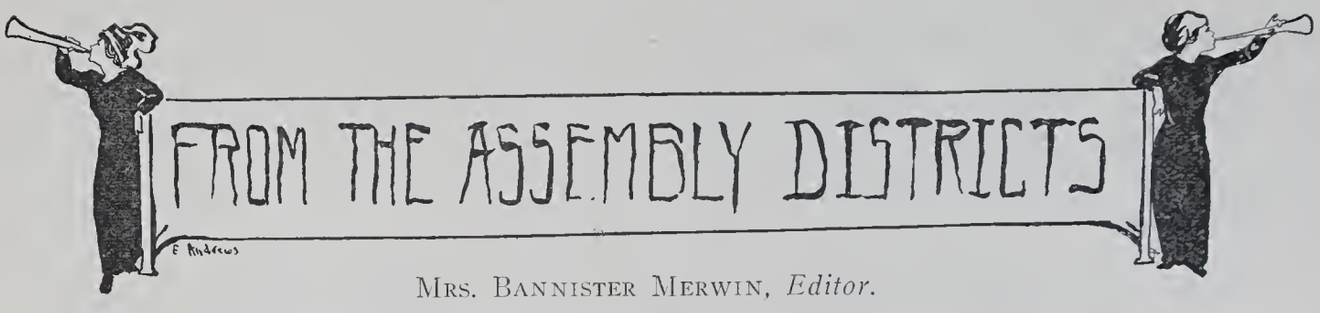
MISS JOSEPHINE KOCH, a dressmaker by profession, has devoted her spare time, morning and evening, to canvassing for the Woman Suffrage Party. In the last six weeks she has collected *eight hundred* enrollments. We need more such devoted workers.

DURING the absence of Mrs. Marie Jenny Howe, leader of the 25th Assembly District, the vice-leader, Mrs. James Duane Livingstone, will be in charge. Mrs. Livingstone has already arranged with the captains and officers, to spend some time studying conditions in the night court, located in that district. Although such activity is not, strictly speaking, Party work, it illustrates how completely our struggle for the ballot is bound up in social problems and movements for the common welfare.

ALL contributions for the Ohio campaign fund should be sent to Mrs. Penfield, who will forward them to Mrs. Upton, president of the Ohio Suffrage Association. Ohio's fight is our fight, and upon Ohio's victory depends the fate of the other campaign States, as the amendment may be submitted to the voters in August, before any other State has voted.

AT a recent meeting of the Emma Williard Association, of which Mrs. Russell Sage is the honorary president, Mrs. J. Hedges Crowell, who is an honorary member of the association, read the following message from Mrs. Sage, in regard to the parade of May 4th:

"The Suffrage parade was inspiring, and while wrongs may not be entirely righted by votes for women, there will be many steps upward."



MRS. BANNISTER MERWIN, *Editor.*

ON the first of May, Miss Beatrice Stevenson addressed a meeting at Alfred Corning Clark House. Among the guests was Mrs. Cohen, leader of the Meat Strike and marshal for the 6th Assembly District in the parade.

Mrs. Esther Gites is the new leader of the 8th Assembly District to succeed Mrs. Erlich, who has moved to Brooklyn.

Miss Marion Swinton, leader of the 13th Assembly District, held a meeting at the headquarters of the 13th, 307 West 54th Street, on May 22nd. Miss L. L. Dock spoke on "Suffrage and Trained Nurses." Other speakers were Mr. Edward King and Miss Freeman.

The secretary of the 15th Assembly District, Miss Martha Klatschken, reports that the district looks forward to a busy Summer, with open-air meetings during the hot weather. In the absence of the leader, Mrs. Frederic Nathan, the assistant leader, Mrs. Sophia Kramer, will be in charge. The district is indebted to Mrs. David Stern, one of the active captains, for an alphabetical card index of the district's enrolled members.

On the evening of Tuesday, May 7th, at St. Michael's Parish House, there was a benefit for the 17th Assembly District, arranged by Mrs. Charles Caffin and her assistants. Music furnished by the Music School Settlement, proved a delightful addition to the evening's entertainment. The captains were successful in obtaining many enrollments for the Woman Suffrage Party and the Men's League. Thirty VOTERS were sold and many subscriptions taken. In April the district sent out a thousand suffrage leaflets, which brought forth satisfactory results. During May and June, suffrage teas will be held every Tuesday at the home of Mrs. Morton, the district leader, 224 Riverside Drive. A cordial invitation is extended to all.

On April 30th the 20th Assembly District held a meeting at The East Side Settlement. Miss Swinnerton spoke. The meeting, led by Miss Clara Buchold, was well attended.

On April 27th at The Labor Temple, 243 East 84th Street, there was a meeting of the 22nd Assembly District. Mrs. Eleanore F. Hahn, leader of the district, presided. There were about fifty present and a most interesting meeting was held.

The speakers were Miss Ida A. Craft, Miss Elizabeth Freeman, Dr. Maude Glasgow, Mr. Edward King and Mr. James Morton, Jr.

Many of the audience pledged themselves to march in the parade of May 4th. Copies of THE WOMAN VOTER were sold, and a generous collection was taken up by the ushers.

On May 2nd, at the home of Mrs. Albert Plimpton, leader of the 21st Assembly District, a very delightful meeting was held. Four new captains were enrolled, and several co-workers promised hearty co-operation with the district. On May 4th, there were nearly a hundred in line at the hour appointed for the parade. The beautiful new district banner was carried by Miss Clark. Mrs. E. Valet was district marshal. Every woman marcher in the district wore a bunch of yellow Jonquils. These flowers made a most attractive decoration. Mrs. Plimpton is now arranging a series of street meetings for June. The next regular district meeting will be held on June 6th.

In the latter part of April a suffrage meeting was held at Union Settlement. Through the untiring work of Doctor and Mrs. Privitali, who is leader of the 24th Assembly District, many doctors and lawyers of the Italian-American colony in the 24th, as well as their patients and clients, are becoming interested in suffrage.

There were one hundred persons in line from the 26th Assembly District. Miss Lena M. Chapman, leader. Miss Rosenthal and Miss Johnson carried a large banner. Miss Margaret Martchink sold many copies of THE WOMAN VOTER. There have been sixty enrollments and three new captains appointed in this district during the last month. On April 25th a meeting was held in the parlor of the Emeline York-Tyndall Hotel, 58 East 102nd Street, at which Miss Freeman spoke. On May 6th this district joined with the 18th Assembly District and held a meeting at the Ivy Club, 65th Street. Mrs. Gear presided. Mrs. Suffren and Mr. Amos addressed the audience.

When women get the right to vote,
And help to run the nation,
There is no doubt this rally shout
Will win by acclamation

LIPTON'S TEA

Honest Tea Is The Best Policy

A suffrage meeting was held at the residence of Mrs. George Place, 125 East 57th Street, on Friday, April 19th. The speakers of the occasion were Mrs. James Lees Laidlaw and Mrs. Charles Farley Winch.

A mass meeting of the 31st Assembly District took place at Temple Israel on April 17th. Mrs. James Lees Laidlaw, Mrs. Winter Russell, Miss Harriet May Mills and Miss Eleanor Bernfeld were the speakers. Music was in charge of Mrs. Levine. Notwithstanding the very inclement weather a large audience assembled and many parade pledges were taken.

On April 30th a picturesque street meeting was held outside the Junior League House, at East 76th Street. A crowd of three hundred stood on the steps and sidewalk, while groups of girls leaned over the balconies far above the street. Mrs. Laidlaw had been told that there were not more than seven or eight suffragists in Junior League House, but many signed parade slips came in to headquarters and a number were signed during the meeting.

BRONX.

The new leader for the 34th Assembly District, Mrs. Edgar Hoag, is fortunate in securing the Republican headquarters for one meeting each month, a free-will offering to the cause from that organization. The Bronx Borough will give an entertainment in this hall on the 24th inst., for the benefit of the Borough treasury.

The 32nd Assembly District, Williamsbridge branch Woman Suffrage Party, has held its regular meetings every two weeks under the able leadership of Mrs. James T. Penfield.

The 33rd Assembly District, Mrs. May Kline, leader, has joined with the 34th Assembly District in the meetings held in the headquarters of the 34th Assembly District, in McKinley Square Theatre Building on the first and third Tuesday evenings of each month. Mrs. H. Secor-Tonjes, leader of the 34th Assembly District, has arranged a series of meetings for May and June on civic problems and their relation to votes for women. An enjoyable series of euchres are in progress; the first one was held in the 34th Assembly District headquarters. Mrs. Fisk, Mrs. Roke and Mrs. Tonjes will later hold euchres in their apartments.

Mrs. Wm. Swan, leader of the 35th Assembly District, has used the Republican headquarters at Fordham Road and Park Avenue, by the courtesy of the leader of the 35th, Mr. Whittle, for a mass meeting each month, all of which have been well attended and brought in many enrollments.

THE BRONX PARADE.

We feel justly proud of the Bronx division of the great parade on May 4th. Mrs. Olive Pierce was the grand marshal for the Bronx and did splendid work. Three hundred marchers is not a large number when compared with the population of the Bronx, but when compared with thirty-eight marchers, the number in last year's parade, is a remarkably good showing. This year our five districts were each headed by their leader. Each district with its banner, and a fine band of fifteen pieces to lead them.

The Borough leaders wish to thank our chief, Mrs. Jean Nelson Penfield, for the magnificent banner she presented to the Bronx and which was carried at the head of our division.

After the parade the leaders and many of the marchers went directly to their respective localities and held out-door meetings. We all seemed inspired to do double duty after the wonderful experiences of the march from Union Square to Carnegie Hall.

Wednesday is Bronx Day at headquarters, when the Borough chairman, Mrs. A. C. Fisk, assisted by one or more of the leaders, will be in attendance and glad to welcome our constituents and friends. HELENA SECOR-TONJES,
Press Committee.

Miss Elizabeth Freeman, one of our Woman Suffrage Party organizers, has been touring Suffolk and Nassau counties with Miss Rosalie Jones, of Long Island, selling post cards of their yellow wagonette, Suffrage buttons, literature, etc. The primary object of the tour was to make money for the Ohio campaign, to form organizations on the party districting lines, and to awaken the untouched districts of Long Island. The tour was a great success from all points of view, a club formed in each of the fifty towns and villages called at. Lively open air meetings were attended by large crowds.

SHOULDER TO SHOULDER

(*Continued from page 27*)

"Who was the little woman in gray," she asked. "I missed the name."

The Suffragist answered, and the Semi-Anti sat up and gasped.

"Oh, is *that* who it was?" she cried.

"Well, how about it?" said the Suffragist, impatiently.

"*She* understands, *she* has no sex antagonism," said the Semi-Anti with shining eyes. "And all because she loves men as well as women, she knows they belong together, and she feels about the world's children as mothers feel about their very own! Is she married?"

"No," said the Suffragist, a hint of regret in her voice.

"I think I'm glad of it," said the Semi-Anti, slowly. "She's too big for one man, one home. She belongs to everybody, she's a mother for all the poor dears who need mothers—the right sort!"

There were tears in the Semi-Anti's eyes, usually so bright and laughing. As they walked slowly down the aisle she went on:

"One woman with a spirit like that can atone for a thousand bigots. It's not the blind passion for power, for change which moves her; it's the spirit of Justice, the force of a great love. Working as she works will help the rest of us to love as she loves—and not selfishly, narrowly, not merely our own flesh and blood!"

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19th ASSEMBLY DISTRICT

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PATRONIZE OUR PATRONS, MENTION "THE WOMAN VOTER"

She paused abruptly, then moved closer to her friend and spoke clearly, in her strong, moved voice:

"Dear, I'll join your organization—and I'll join to-day!"

The Suffragist did not answer, in words. But she gripped a slender hand in an immaculate glove, and her heart leaped with a strange exaltation as she moved toward the door, shoulder to shoulder with an erect, blue-eyed young woman, who was no longer the Semi-Anti!

"FOR JUSTICE SAKE."

MISS VIDA SCUDDER'S address at Lawrence during the recent strike, is one of those rare presentations of a big point of view which should be preserved for frequent reading and inspiration.

The Survey, of April 6th, contained the speech in full. We regret that we have only space for the following paragraphs:

"Justice! It is a good word for Lawrence and for us all to ponder. How much has it prevailed here? Back of these unfortunate sporadic acts, for which the responsibility will probably never be fixed—acts which have broken out like an eruption in a diseased body—lies the whole situation in the textile industries. And the country is becoming aware that this situation is not one which Americans like to contemplate. How wise is Victor Berger, when he reminds Congress that Schedule K was passed on the plea of protecting American labor with a high tariff—and then bids them listen to the life stories of the Lawrence workers! Estimates given by our most trustworthy and untrammeled journals, by *The Survey, The Outlook, The Boston Common,* show that decent manhood and womanhood are impossible on the earnings of an appreciable proportion of the mill people here. That is what lies back of this strike.

What is the way out? That is not for me to tell. One obvious way is that for which able and wise men and women, quite outside the ranks of labor, are fighting this season: The establishment by law of a minimum wage for the State of Massachusetts. The workers—the Industrial Workers of the World and the American Federation of Labor—are not the only people in Massachusetts bitterly distressed over the wage conditions that at some points obtain here. If such a bill should pass it would be the first step in a reform which would render impossible just what has caused this strike. What we of the general public would like to see would be a board of government experts who should determine just what wages the woolen trades could carry consistently with reasonable profits to their stockholders and to the manufacturers.

And I speak for the New England of our fathers when I say that if such wages are (even for the least skilled of the workers) below the standard necessary to maintain men and women in decency and health, then the woolen industry has not a present right to exist in Massachusetts. For the first point in any industry is that it shall be competent to support its workers in honor. So my master, Ruskin, said long ago. So we are gradually learning.

I speak for thousands beside myself when I say that I would rather never again wear a thread of woolen than know that my garments had been woven at the cost of such misery as I have seen and known, past the shadow of a doubt, to have existed in this town."

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WHY HE BELIEVED.

SUFFRAGE street-meetings seldom become monotonous. Something or somebody is sure to enliven them.

On this occasion it was a man, a man in the last stages of intoxication. He was not unfriendly, however. Oh, no; he fairly out-shouted the speaker in his endeavors to prove his allegiance to the cause.

"I believe in woman suffrage!" he ejaculated. "I believe the women should vote! Let 'em vote! Let me tell you why I think they should vote!"

At last the speaker paused—capitulation was the only way to victory.

"Very well," she said, wearily, "tell us your reason."

The inebriated one straightened his shoulders solemnly.

"It ish my earnest creed," he announced, "I might almost shay my creed an' conviction, that women should vote. For why? Becaushe, ladies and gentlemen, I am an advocate of temperance. And the women will abolish the rum shops!"

And, as he staggered pompously down the street, nobody in the crowd was quite sure whether it was a comedy or a tragedy.

—M. A. DE F.

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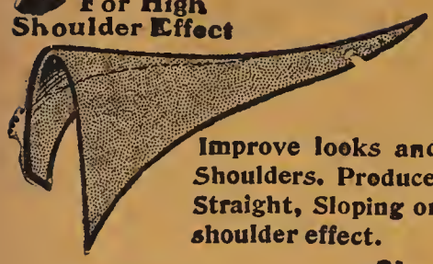

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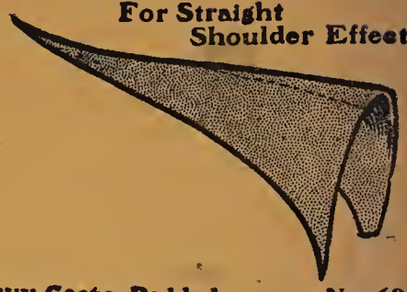

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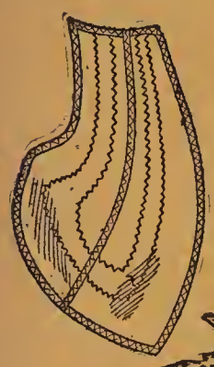

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